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INDUSTRIAL PEACE



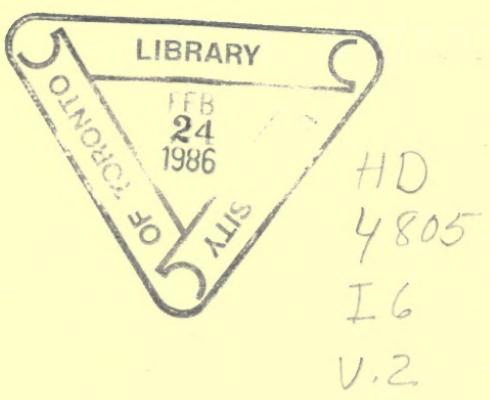
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CORRIGENDA.

MARCH NUMBER.—Page 29, line 20, for "carful" read "careful."

APRIL NUMBER.—Page 19, line 24, for "Dass" read "Das."

MAY NUMBER.—Page 4, line 23, for "Askwith" read "Askwith's."

JULY NUMBER.—Page 1 and 2, for "National Labour and Democratic Party" read "National Democratic and Labour Party."

AUGUST NUMBER.—Page 16, footnote, for "Equation" read "Equator."

AUGUST NUMBER.—Page 26, line 32, for "others" read "them."





No. VII

M A R C H

MCMXVIII

“Opportunity has locks before,
but is bald behind.”

—*Cato.*



INDUSTRIAL PEACE

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

THE following abbreviations are occasionally used in the following pages and should be noted for future reference:—

A.S.E.	...	Amalgamated Society of Engineers.
B.S.P.	...	British Socialist Party.
B.W.L.	...	British Workers' League.
C.L.C.	...	Central Labour College.
C.O.	...	Conscientious Objector.
C.W.C.	...	Clyde Workers Committee.
D.R.R.	...	Defence of the Realm Regulations.
E.A.T.C.	...	Engineering and Allied Trades Committee.
E.T.U.	...	Electrical Trades Union.
F.O.R.	...	Fellowship of Reconciliation.
I.L.P.	...	Independent Labour Party.
I.W.W.	...	Industrial Workers of the World.
M. of M.	...	Ministry of Munitions.
M.S.A.	...	Military Service Act.
M.W.A.	...	Munitions of War Act.
N.A.C.	...	National Administrative Council.
N.C.C.L.	...	National Council of Civil Liberties.
N.C.F.	...	No Conscription Fellowship.
N.G.L.	...	National Guilds League.
N.U.R.	...	National Union of Railwaymen.
N.U.T.	...	National Union of Teachers.
P.N.C.	...	Peace by Negotiations Council.
R.F.M.	...	Rank and File Movement.
S.L.P.	...	Socialist Labour Party.
S.P.Gt.B.	...	Socialist Party of Great Britain.
S.S.C.	...	Social Science Classes.
T.U.C.	...	Trade Union Congress.
U.D.C.	...	Union of Democratic Control.
U.M.W.A.	...	United Machine Workers' Association.
W.E.A.	...	Workers' Educational Association.
W.E.W.N.C.	...	War Emergency Workers' National Committee.
W.I.L.	...	Women's International League.
W.L.L.	...	Women's Labour League.
W.P.C.	...	Women's Peace Crusade.
W.S.D.C.	...	Workers' and Soldiers' Delegates Council.
W.S.P.U.	...	Women's Social and Political Union.
W.U.	...	Workers' Union.
W.W.U.	...	Women Workers' Union.

INDUSTRIAL PEACE



WAR WEARINESS AND DETERIORATION.

WE have no intention of entering the lists in those greatly to be regretted discussions which exhibit the Government and the Higher Command of the Army as two opposing factions intriguing against each other and continually manœuvring for position to the detriment of the State. There is no legitimate ground for partisanship at a time when national unity is all-important and no sense of fairplay in attributing ulterior motives to men in responsible positions at a time when circumstances forbid them to state their case without reservation. Those people who imagine that they are helping the Army by attacking the Government, equally with those who think that the Government cannot be supported without criticising the Higher Command, are injuring, however unwittingly, the very causes they profess to have at heart. It is impossible for any outsider to be sufficiently well-informed to arrive at a complete and judicial decision in the matter and anything less than the whole truth is worse than useless. The question of degree hardly arises and an estimate that is only inaccurate in part may well be fraught with graver peril than an appreciation which is comprehensively ill-founded. There is only one safe course to pursue and that is to suspend judgment, to be generous and to trust the men in power to oppose the German menace with the whole resources of the State with increasing vigour and resolution.

The truth will emerge in the long run. Meanwhile let us leave to the defeatists the monopoly of ignorant and ungenerous carping. If we must criticise, let us concentrate on insisting that neither time, money, nor energy is wasted on any object which does not contribute directly towards ultimate victory. The advantage which Germany possesses by virtue of centralised command operating on interior lines is enhanced by every discussion that distracts our attention and can only be neutralised by a fixed determination on our part to postpone all avoidable controversy until the enemy is defeated. To act otherwise is to play into the hands of Germany, who seeks skilfully and consistently, by evasive or ambiguous duplicity and by every knavish trick that Teuton industry can contrive, to discover the weak spots in our national armour in order that she may achieve by fraud the victory which the gallantry of the Navy and the Army prevents her from winning by force.

The German vulture is already speculating on gorging itself with our remains after we have committed suicide, and the *Kölnische Volkszeitung* gloats over the eventual decomposition of British resolve and declares that now is the moment for Germany to expedite the process which has already begun. The *Daily Chronicle* of February 19th gives a translation of a typically naïve article describing how it is proposed to enlighten the British working classes as to the merits of and the necessity for a "good German peace." England is to be converted by intense peace propaganda and encouraged to ask herself the question, "What are we fighting for?" Germany is under no delusions. Her determination is to take and hold everything she can lay hands on. But for England the proposition is not so simple or straightforward. We are invited to lose ourselves in a maze of speculation and sectional jealousy. Are we fighting in order that France may regain Alsace or are we only bleeding for Belgium? Is Labour to sacrifice itself to bolster up Imperialism? Are the interests of Democracy best served by continuing the war until German militarism is smashed, or would an inconclusive peace signed to-morrow be less disastrous than the continuance of a struggle of indefinite duration? The complications which follow such introspective indulgence have been calculated to a nicety and are relied upon to antagonise the Allies and to impair national unity. The Germans are apt pupils of the Father of Lies, and we may add apt teachers also, for their suggestions are greedily absorbed and acted upon by our defeatists.

Inevitably the strain of war wears out all material objects faster than they can be replaced, and this process is not confined to roads, railways, guns, machinery and ships. It affects human endurance, not perhaps to so obvious an extent, but hardly less surely. The few may be brought to even a finer temper as they pass through the fire, but the many are tempted to succumb to weariness, to cast around for false scents which may serve as excuses for avoiding the ever-increasing strain which Armageddon demands from those who are destined to survive the greatest ordeal of all the ages.

How are we to withstand war weariness and prevent the deterioration which it induces? There are certain thoughts the constant remembrance of which will help us to mitigate the symptoms if not altogether to remove the complaint itself. We must bear in mind that we are at grips with an astute, bitter and relentless enemy to whom honour and mercy are unknown, but who is herself infected with those germs of disruption which thrive in the atmosphere of war weariness. We must never forget that thousands upon thousands of our

fellow-countrymen have laid down their lives in the confident belief that their sacrifice will not be wantonly thrown on the scrap heap. We must remember that we are pledged to stand by our Allies till our joint purpose is achieved, and we must be resolute in our determination not to tarnish the good name handed down to us by those forefathers of ours who, again and again, have saved Britain in the past against long odds because they were staunch and because they preferred death to shameful surrender.

This is no question of class or creed. In this quarrel all should be united, all should be equal, and if a heavier responsibility rests upon the rich, because of their larger opportunities, the poor have the greatest stake in the ultimate issue, because it is always those with the narrowest margin in hand that suffer most acutely when ruin overtakes their country. The working classes are now confidently looking forward to higher wages, more liberty and a better standard of living. If they win the war all these things will be added to victory, but if they lose it the prospect is one of grinding poverty, unmitigated toil and foreign domination with the fear of future and even more terrible wars ever overshadowing their lives.

That Britain can be permanently dominated by Germany is utterly impossible, and if the folly of internecine civil strife robs us of the not far distant certainty of securing a permanent and British peace the outlook is black indeed. Never again will so promising an opportunity present itself. The herculean task nears its fruition. It would be criminal madness to risk the appalling prospect of having to begin all over again. We must brace ourselves for our supreme effort, rival the heroic standards of the past and refuse to be turned from our purpose by force, guile or self-deception. The sordid example of Russia stares us in the face. In seeking a separate peace she has grievously wounded the Allies to whom she was pledged, but it is she that is the greatest sufferer. Forgetting that whilst it takes two to make peace it needs but one to make war, the proffered olive branch is insolently torn from her trembling hands, nor has she any weapon ready to take its place. The collapse of Russia is complete and for the present irretrievable, but she is only at the beginning of her troubles. She, like Britain, will not submit to be permanently enslaved by Prussia, and so she must laboriously forge for herself a new sword and work out her destiny in isolation and despair.

But before we condemn that abjectly prostrate nation we should do well to remember that we have been spared much that she has suffered. As we have sown so have we reaped. The blessings that spring from a Constitutional Monarchy,

happily devised and temperately cultivated, have proved their worth, the curses that haunt Absolutism despotically enforced and corruptly administered have reached their day of reckoning. There is no justification for Bolshevism under any circumstances whatever, not even in Russia, and that any section in free and enlightened Britain should so much as parley with the authors of that unclean and fatal disease is almost unbelievable. Yet we must be on our guard and not allow our native indolence and toleration to lull us into a false sense of security. These are the days when we cannot afford to take any risks, for the unexpected has begun to knock at our doors with the regularity that used to attach to the visits of the butcher's boy before the days of King Rhondda.

In *Tales of Old Japan* may be found a sermon in which a Japanese preacher warns his congregation against the dangers of over-confidence. As the translation used by Lord Redesdale preserves the quaintness of the original we give the fable at length :

"There is a certain powerful shell-fish called the Sazayé with a very strong operculum. Now this creature if it hears that there is any danger astir, shuts up its shell from within with a loud noise, and thinks itself perfectly safe. One day a Tai and another fish, lost in envy at this, said : 'What a strong castle this is of yours, Mr. Sazayé ! When you shut up your lid from within nobody can so much as point a finger at you. A capital figure you make, sir.'

"When he heard this the Sazayé, stroking his beard, replied : 'Well, gentlemen, although you are so good as to say so, it's nothing to boast of in the way of safety ; yet I must admit that when I shut myself up thus I do not feel much anxiety.' And as he was speaking thus, with the pride that apes humility, there came the noise of a great splash ; and the shellfish, shutting up his lid as quickly as possible, kept quite still, and thought to himself what in the world the noise could be. Could it be a net ? Could it be a fish-hook ? What a bore it was always having to keep such a sharp look-out ! Were the Tai and the other fish caught, he wondered ; and he felt quite anxious about them : however, at any rate, he was safe, so he stealthily opened his shell, and slipped out his head and looked all round him. There seemed to be something wrong—something with which he was not familiar. As he looked a little more carefully, lo and behold ! there he was in a fishmonger's shop, and with a card marked 'sixteen cash ' on his back."

We commend the moral inculcated by Kiu-O's sermon to the attention of some of those officials whom we have ventured to describe as "The Pharaohs of Whitehall."

CORRUPT WELT-POLITIK.

The Peaceful Penetration of France by Germany before the War.

A FEW years before the war it would have been difficult to tell the tale we are going to relate here to an audience of politicians or of well-informed journalists without being laughed at for a maniac. To-day most of us—though, alas ! not all of us—realise that there is no limit to the resources of the German plotting mind, and that the wildest inventions of fiction writers have been easily surpassed by the deep-laid schemes of the Berlin secret service. The first man in Europe to make a thorough study of the pre-war methods of the German spies has been M. Léon Daudet, whose book *L'Avant-Guerre*, published in February, 1913, as the result of a courageous campaign started in *L'Action Française* by him and by his friend M. Charles Maurras as far back as September, 1910, will stand as an immortal monument of patriotic sagacity. We can do no better than to refer our readers to this prophetic work, which has proved accurate in every detail. Happily for France, it has also inspired the military authorities to the decisive steps they took on the eve of the declaration of war against the spies who were ready to seize and destroy some of the most important nerve-centres of that country.

In this brief study we can only give an outline of the methods employed by Germany to spread her net of espionage all over France, with the object of paralysing the defence of the invaded territory the moment war should be declared.

Firstly, it is quite evident that, in times of peace, a democratic and parliamentary regime gives every facility for, and offers few remedies against, a foreign invasion, especially a German one. How is a Government, supposed to represent liberal and even international tendencies, to close the political, moral, and economic frontiers of a country which inscribes on its monuments those three fatal words, "Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité," and strives to apply these fallacies not only to its own people, but to humanity in general ? Freedom is but an empty word unless strictly defined. Equality is not to be found in nature, and is one of the cruellest lies ever told to the masses by stupid or dishonest sophists. As for Fraternity, it is a pious wish seldom realised even in the most united families.

The Germans, who despise Liberty, but know the meaning of the word duty to the Kaiser and to their race, who laugh at Equality and worship hierarchy, and who reserve the feeling of brotherhood for accomplices of their own blood, had but little difficulty in taking possession of the most important avenues of French commercial, industrial, political, and even literary life.

In their work of subterranean conquest they were assisted in the internationalisation of France by a good many stupid and unscrupulous—but more stupid than unscrupulous—French capitalists, who, before the war, considered capital as a commodity belonging to all countries in general, and to no country in particular. In a report of the general meeting of the Grands Moulins de Corbeil, held on April 16th, 1905, and published in *La Vie Financière* of April 17th, 1905, a patriotic shareholder complained that the managing director, M. Lucien Baumann, was a German, an ex-German soldier, freshly naturalised, who would be placed in a difficult position in case of war between France and Germany. In reply to this protest another shareholder exclaimed : “ Wherever industrial interests are concerned, there is no nationality. Bring us Russians or Japanese, we do not care as long as they bring us dividends.”

Capitalism has thus a heavy share of responsibility for the calamity which supervened. If it is to survive the war, it will have to become what it used to be in the old times—nationalist and patriotic. Meanwhile it is not surprising that the Socialists, realising the international spirit of capitalism, threw themselves into the internationalist movement, though it is as contrary to the real interests of the workers as it has been damaging to the capitalists, who realised when too late the folly of their selfishness.

Germany soon after the war of 1870 started out not only to invade the commercial provinces of Europe and of the whole world, but also to lay hands on the national industries vital to the defence of the countries they wanted one day to enslave. The German aim was not to compete in cheapness, and far less in quality, with the other industrial centres of the world. This naive programme they left to the worthy merchants of London, Manchester, Birmingham, Liverpool, and Glasgow. Backed by their State, they tried to seize the essential industries of each country, and in France had succeeded, just before the war, in obtaining a strong hold on the wheat trade, and on all those enterprises concerned with iron, steel, coal, etc.

In order to enter and conquer the French territory, the

Germans used two principal means : on the one hand, letters of naturalisation, and, on the other, that most admirable instrument of information, the firm of Schimmelpfeng, which richly deserves a whole chapter to itself.

The department of naturalisation had been entrusted by the French Republic to M. Jacques Grumbach, a nephew of a certain Emile Weyl, who had been turned out of the French Admiralty by M. de Mahy. Of course M. Grumbach claims an Alsatian descent, and many Alsatian Jews have certainly proved loyal French citizens. It is, however, indisputable that while M. Grumbach filled the offices of sous-directeur at the Ministère de l'Intérieur, of head of the general police and of the control of foreigners, naturalisations went up by leaps and bounds. In 1896 the naturalised in France numbered 38,000 ; in 1901, 65,000 ; in 1906, 90,000 ; in 1911, 120,000, and the large majority were Germans and German Jews. That invasion of undesirable new citizens was thus obviously favoured by M. Jacques Grumbach, who was then the supreme master of all facilities to be granted or refused to foreigners in France. He had, too, under his control the "Sûreté Nationale"—that is, the land frontiers, and all the seaboard, the dockyards, railroads, fortresses, etc. Of course M. Jacques Grumbach may allege that, in spite of his name and origin, he did his duty. There are, however, many citizens in France who, long before the war, refused to accept that view of his activities, and who have since had every reason to believe that their suspicions were more than justified. Shall we ever know how many of those Germans whom he officially introduced to France and guaranteed as future loyal citizens of the country have since betrayed her ? The harm done to the National Defence by Germans, Austrians, and other aliens naturalised so freely through the good offices of M. Jacques Grumbach and of his associates has been such that France is the only State which, since the war began, has passed legislation with a view to the denaturalisation of naturalised foreigners. One can wish for no stronger condemnation of M. Jacques Grumbach's sinister activities before and even after 1914. France is not, however, the only Allied country where Grumbachs flourish, and the naturalisation problem will have to be solved everywhere before peace is signed, if we are to profit by the lessons of the past.

But to be naturalised was only half the battle for a German who had decided to wage commercial war on France. In order to attack and to vanquish his trade rivals, he had need of all available information relating to his enemy's business and private or public life. The German State, ever watchful of its citizens'

welfare abroad as well as at home, had seen to that, and was represented in Paris—unofficially, of course—by a clever and powerful firm, the Schimmelpfeng Institute, whose sole object was to collect all possible data, commercial, industrial, financial, geographical, military, and political, which might prove of use to Germans either in the Fatherland or in France.

The existence of this agency was revealed to the French public in 1910 by a series of articles published by M. Pierre Mareilles in the *Gil Blas*, then edited by M. Henry de Nousseanne. The workings of the Institute were then clearly exposed; but as the name of the agency was not made known, this warning was not understood and remained unheeded.

The Schimmelpfeng Institute had, however, started on its profitable career before 1890, and had succeeded for more than twenty years in escaping notoriety, for organisations of that kind prefer shaded paths to the sunlight of open thoroughfares. We cannot describe here, in all its complexity, the admirable system of commercial spying which extended its tentacles to the smallest towns in distant provinces. But this is how the Institute proceeded to gain admittance into every bank, into every firm, into every shop. First it would send from Paris a list of questions addressed to the principal firms in a big town, asking each to fill up a form stating who he was, and giving details as to the amount of his capital, the importance of his yearly transactions, etc. Of course all these particulars could not be controlled. As statistics they were vague and unreliable. But they created a first link between the Institute and the firm, which usually thought it might be useful to give to that sort of agency full assurances concerning its importance, influence, etc. Of course a good many business men refused to be trapped by this German bureau. But what happened to them? The Institute thereupon sent to their competitors in the same line of business a letter, most carefully worded, asking them to communicate to the agency, in the strictest confidence, answers to a list of questions concerning the firm, or firms, who had refused to disclose their trade secrets. Human nature is the same in every country, and it will surprise no one to hear that after twenty years of persistent effort the Schimmelpfeng Institute had gathered together a formidable mass of evidence—good, bad, and indifferent—with regard to thousands and thousands of French firms and business men. With their usual thoroughness the directors of the Institute, who were, of course, Germans, were able to establish, in most cases, reliable reports giving exact descriptions of the geographical conditions of every region, of the population living in it, of its political

currents and sub-currents, of the salaries, habits, number, etc., of the workmen employed in its different industries, of the production of the principal mills, works, etc., of the raw materials indispensable to these industries, of the cost and sale price of all articles manufactured therein, etc.

All this information was supposed to be at the disposal of the subscribers to the Institute, and the agency, especially in the years which preceded the war, was almost always in a position to give accurate confidential particulars to those banks or firms who wanted to inquire into the solvency of new or unknown clients.

But all this colossal work was primarily intended for the Germans, naturalised or not, who desired to set up rival firms, and to compete with the French, abroad or within French territory. Thus the Schimmelpfeng Institute was indispensable to the German commercial travellers, naturalised or not, who overran France, and that system of commercial spying proved to the last minute a most valuable asset to her commercial conquerors.

All this would have been a matter of secondary importance, for which French business people could only have blamed themselves, if the Institute had fairly and openly helped its compatriots to absorb, slowly but surely, the whole trade of France. It is true that the main lever of the agency against business men was blackmail. Any firm or individual who refused the services of the Schimmelpfeng tribe knew that his credit would be impaired by secret information given by the Institute to a bank or a big wholesale firm whose support might be vital at a given moment. But these are the perils of business life all the world over—anyway as long as things remain as they are now. What was much more important in the case of the Institute was that all the information thus collected was duplicated and sent direct to Berlin for the benefit of the secret service of the German Empire. I need not expatiate on this point.

Thus Germans, well informed by the Schimmelpfeng Institute, officially but secretly subsidised by the German Government, and protected in their enterprise by the benevolent and paternal supervision of M. Jacques Grumbach, ever ready to naturalise them at sight, were well equipped to storm the already weakened stronghold of French commercial activity.

It would take volumes to enumerate the different branches of French economic life which were being raided when the war started. The usual method employed was to create in France a French society, manned by German capital, with

German directors and managers. Sometimes the Germans were fond of the little joke which consisted in taking over a French company already well provided with French capital. They would instil into it a few golden marks, invade its board of directors, and take in hand its management. In order, moreover, to get the maximum of profit out of such a Franco-German combine, they would frequently bring over from Germany complete staffs of engineers, foremen, technical workmen, supplemented by a whole plant of German machinery, which could only be mended, in case of accidents, by "Fatherland" firms. This meant that, in time of war, some of the most important industries in France might be stopped owing to their inability to obtain standardised pieces of machinery from Germany !

As for the unskilled labour, our German invaders were at times kind enough to engage it on the spot.

We need quote but a few of the numerous firms which, once French, were thus Germanised, or which were from the beginning entirely German. What an extraordinary and almost incredible story is the tale of Lucien Baumann's adventures as the head of the Moulins de Corbeil (the biggest flour mills of France, situated quite near to Paris)! And what about the factory of the German electric lamp "Osram," established so close to the large engineering works where a vital part of the 75 gun was manufactured ? And what about the iron-ore of Normandy, the furnaces and steelworks of Caen, exploited by Thyssen ? What, indeed, about so many other enterprises conducted by Germans, most of them placed carefully near important junctions or railway bridges, vital to the mobilisation of the French Army ?

Happily for France, the military police were more on the *qui vive* than the police controlled by M. Malvy and his patron, M. Caillaux. Happily, behind a handful of stupid or unworthy officials, who, blinded by their love of peace, did not realise that it takes two to keep a contract and only one to pick a quarrel, there were the brave, patriotic people of France. These knew nothing of base political intrigues, and they rushed to the frontier as soon as they realised the "patrie" was in danger. The advance of the enemy was arrested much more by their indomitable moral and physical courage than by the military preparations which the Government, undermined by the pre-war German invasion, had failed to make as thorough as they ought to have been.



THE W.E.A. AND THE PLEBS LEAGUE.

FOR many years past an active educational work has been carried on by the "Workers' Educational Association" amongst members of the wage-earning classes, upon the principle of bringing the University to the homes of the people. The lecturers have for the most part been young men associated with the provincial Universities, and classes have been formed during the winters for such subjects as History, Literature and Economics. In the summer schools have been held at University centres, and working men have been enabled or assisted to spend a week or two during their holiday at these. The prevailing note has been an impartial desire to give access to knowledge to those whose circumstances make such access difficult. The development of these classes, at one time rapid, has lately received a sharp check from the "Plebs" League and the "Central Labour College," two bodies which for practical purposes may be considered as one. The opposition is based upon the principle of the class war, and working men who attend the classes of the W.E.A. are denounced as being traitors to this cause. The provincial Universities, it is argued, were founded by the gifts of wealthy men ; they are therefore capitalist institutions, and all their professors and lecturers are capitalist agents. Further, the teaching given claims to be, and usually is, impartial—that is, it is an attempt to dissuade working men from taking an active part in the class war. These arguments, particularly in Sheffield and South Wales, have been largely successful in bringing the work of the W.E.A. to a standstill.

Such a social event is a rude blow to those who take a cheerful view of the present relations of the classes. The ideals of University education, and the general atmosphere of Socialistic humanitarianism which pervades the W.E.A. classes, are in many quarters still regarded as somewhat advanced and revolutionary. It appears, however, that in other and more powerful quarters they are denounced as retrograde, and are not to be suffered to develop further.

This being so, it is important to consider the aims, method, and power of the Plebs League as revealed in its own publications. These are in the first instance negative. Collectivist and Socialist theories of social reconstruction are repudiated as empty fancies : the idea of compromise and reconciliation with

the "capitalist classes" is rejected as treason. Under every one of its varying titles, Plebs League, Central Labour College, Rank and File Movement, Shop Stewards' Agitation, this comparatively new propaganda cries out for war; not war to attain any clearly-conceived purpose, but for the destruction of hated opponents. Ideals and aims, it is argued, produce division; action alone unites. Action (by a curious paradox) usually means a strike; but it is not obscurely hinted that in a short time it will mean the lamp-post. This cause is to some of its supporters "the good work": others, however, disclaim all belief in such ideas as good or evil, and merely say that the cause offers them aesthetic attractions.

It seems clear that this movement is the child of the successful strike, and that its dominant motive is of a sporting or destructive character. Formerly it was high fun to chase and torment a blackleg; now there is bigger game to be aimed at in humiliating a Cabinet Minister or driving a millionaire into the workhouse. But to understand fully the movement it is really necessary to be immersed in the mess of literature it has produced, and to enter into the state of mind of hundreds of men of whom some are benevolent reformers and others fanatic revolutionaries.* What seems clear is that the bond which unites all of these for the present is the desire to destroy, not to build up.

This being so, the term "classes" for the meetings promoted is somewhat inappropriate. Study in the accepted sense of the word does not exist, for the works of Karl Marx are accepted as a gospel from which no departure is permitted. There must be no more talk of equality; the working man is to place his foot on his oppressor's neck. Neither must the State continue to exist in any form; its only possible successor is a Consumers' Association, which may discuss reasonably with the producer the price at which he will sell his goods. In fact, with the negation of all social ideals there comes out at last the fairly clear picture which really makes its appeal, that of the successful Strike Committee of a particular trade compelling the community to submit to terms: instead of the alleged exploitation and tyranny of the capitalist, the open and undisguised exploitation and tyranny of labour.

The meetings of the movement are in reality recruiting meetings at which new soldiers are enrolled, and at which they are instructed in their mission and receive their marching orders. Of their size it is hard to judge, but of the area over

* For a fairly moderate point of view on the question of violence we may refer to *Plebs Magazine*, January, 1918, page 281.

which they extend an idea can be formed by the following list of towns at which such meetings are advertised :

Aberdare.	Earlestown.	Manchester.	South Shields.
Abertillery.	East Ham.	Merthyr Tydfil.	St. Helens.
Barry.	Edinburgh.	Newbridge.	Stoke.
Birmingham.	Erith.	Newcastle.	Wallsend.
Bolton.	Glasgow.	Newport (Mon.).	Warrington.
Cardiff.	Huddersfield.	Padiham.	Westerhope.
Chopwell.	Islington.	Pegswood.	Widnes.
Consett.	Leeds.	Pontypool.	Wigan.
Coventry.	Leicester.	Rochdale.	
Durham.	Llanhilleth.	Sheffield.	

We forbear to give the names of the chief apostles of the propaganda, lest any of them should be individually misjudged. They have at any rate the courage of their opinions, which they openly proclaim, and circulate in a literature which permeates every industrial town in the United Kingdom.

Is there real danger behind this movement ? As has always been the case, Government officials and easy-going citizens combine to deride it at one moment as insignificant and to submit to it next day as irresistible. With such persons the future of the country does not rest. The point to be firmly held in mind is that the *Plebs* propaganda is merely one of a dozen agitations which are at the present endeavouring to rally to their sides respectively the allegiance of the mass of the population. If Government suddenly collapses (and all the agitations make this their first aim) then we shall see in England the seething mass of distracted controversy which now rages in Russia, accompanied by the same spasmodic violence and continuous suffering. The danger is real enough. It can only be met by a definite counter-propaganda for maintaining the existence of a United Kingdom based upon civic principles which can make a present and effective appeal. There is no such counter-propaganda of sufficient authority and influence. The official political parties—Unionist, Liberal, and Labour—maintain silence, or open ineffectual parleys with an enemy whose first principle is “no reconciliation.” The national existence is at present perishing by default. But if a national banner is raised in time there is no reason to doubt that its supporters will outnumber its opponents, and will draw in recruits from the most unlikely quarters. Human nature is active, not passive ; it follows the strong man, not the tolerant cause. It seems that the “Plebs” propagandists have not on their side either clear thinking or lofty ideals ; but it is not yet clear that the defenders of society possess either unity or resolution.



MAN-POWER AND DILUTION.

THE rights and wrongs of the so-called "impasse" which has arisen in the engineering industry owing to the non-acceptance of the Government's man-power proposals by the executive of the Amalgamated Society of Engineers has been thrashed out so exhaustively in conference, so hotly debated on the platform, and so often discussed in the Press that the theme may almost be said to have a language and a literature of its own. Although the principles at issue are comparatively simple, the details requiring adjustment are extremely complicated. Under these circumstances we think no good purpose would be served at this juncture by any attempt on our part to elaborate a fresh discussion of the minutiae of a question which may well be left to the experts. We propose, therefore, to confine our remarks to what we may describe as the historical aspect of the case, for we believe that only by tracing the origin and development of the opposition to the Man-Power Bill can a proper perspective be obtained of the true inwardness of the present situation.

We do not suggest that the difficulties which have arisen between the Ministry of National Service and the Executive of the A.S.E. are entirely due to the influence of the Syndicalist minority among the engineers, but we do maintain that these militants, with their destructive theories and methods, are in a large degree responsible for the trouble over the precise interpretation of the agreement of last May, and over the questions of procedure and of privilege in the negotiations with the A.S.E.

The controversy inside the ranks of the A.S.E. with regard to the question of man-power and the further withdrawal of men from this and other Trade Unions for military service did not arise out of the conference between the Minister of National Service and the Trade Unions. Opposition to the proposals of the Government had already been organised some weeks before the conference took place and before any question of procedure could have arisen. It is also important to remember that this opposition was particularly well organised in the Metal, Shipbuilding and Engineering industries, and more markedly so in those districts where a certain type of agitation has long been rampant.

This resistance to the call for more men to meet the very urgent demands of the Army will occasion no surprise to those

of our readers who are following the series of articles on the R.F.M. in INDUSTRIAL PEACE. Such resistance is the only logical development of the anti-national and anti-State policy of the leaders of the Rank and File movement. Directly it was *even rumoured* that the Government, owing to the Bolshevik betrayal of Russia, and the setback in Italy (due largely to "Defeatist" propaganda in those countries) would require more men for our fighting forces, the organs of Pacifism and Syndicalism started a campaign with the object of persuading the workers that the Imperialists and Capitalists were bent on introducing industrial conscription and on "riveting the fetters of militarism on the necks of the wage-earning classes." Emergency meetings were called, and resolutions against the war and against "combing out" were passed with feverish speed and suspicious frequency. In this way an atmosphere of prejudice was created before the man-power proposals of the Government had actually been formulated. Such anti-war resolutions were passed by the Erith District Committee of the A.S.E., the Sheffield A.S.E. and Shop Stewards, the Coventry A.S.E., the Southall Branch of the Society of Amalgamated Tool Makers, by certain branches of the National Union of Railwaymen and by many other bodies.

On January 5th and 6th a national conference of Shop Stewards (of the Rank and File persuasion) was held at Manchester, and the questions of man-power and the continued prosecution of the war was discussed. This conference was attended by delegates from all parts of Great Britain, and great hostility to the war aims of the Allies was displayed. The conference ended in the unanimous adoption of the following resolutions :—

(1) That this National Conference of Shop Stewards directly representing the organised workers in the Engineering and Shipbuilding Industry, informs the Government that *we refuse to accept any agreement on the man-power proposals that may be arrived at as between the Trade Union officials and the Government.*

(2) That this conference is resolved to *actively resist* the man-power proposals of the Government, and demands that the Government shall at once accept the invitation of the Russian Government to consider peace; the Conference further demands the immediate conscription of wealth, and that adequate provision shall be made, as a national right, for all victims of the war.

(3) That this Conference recommends that national action shall be taken to enforce these demands, and delegates are instructed to at once ascertain from the workers in their dis-

tricts what form this action shall take, and to at once acquaint the National Administrative Council.

The above resolutions leave us in no doubt concerning the attitude of the Rank and File Shop Stewards towards the war and towards the proposals of the Government. The influence of Bolshevik propaganda is obvious in the phrasing as well as in the spirit of the decisions arrived at. This is also noticeable in a resolution passed by the Coventry A.S.E., which declares that they have decided against their members negotiating with the Government on the subject of man-power "until our Government enters into the International negotiations between the Russians and the Germans."

This effort to create opposition to the measures essential to the prosecution of the war was continued throughout January. The papers that support Pacifism, Internationalism and Syndicalism printed week by week a number of similar resolutions which, it was claimed, indicated the true attitude of the workers. On January 26th and 27th another conference was held at Manchester; this was a full-dress Rank and File Conference convened by Watson's Committee and the National Council of the Shop Stewards, and was the sequel to the R. and F. gathering held at Newcastle in the autumn of last year. This Manchester meeting of delegates naturally paid considerable attention to the situation created by the Man-Power Bill then before Parliament. The result of these deliberations was the confirmation of the resolutions passed by the National Conference of Shop Stewards on January 5th and 6th. The President of the Conference was P. H. Kealey (one of the eight defendants at Bow Street last May), and his speech to the delegates was of a type now unfortunately only too common. "*We* are determined," he said, "not to allow the Government to take one more man for the Army to carry on this bloody war." The leaders of the R.F.M. flatter themselves that they can initiate a revolution that will have far-reaching effects, and so comrade Kealey asks: "Who can say that this Conference may not start the Revolution? Somebody has got to make a move, and there is going to be a revolution in this country within the next week or two. We are living in a fighting age, we are fighting a class war, and I will fight to the death in order to destroy Society as it exists to-day." From this characteristically "Pacifist" declaration it will be seen that the mantle of Trotsky has descended upon the shoulders of the chairman of the Manchester Shop Stewards.

Affection for Bolshevikism is apparent in all the speeches of the leaders of this Manchester Conference. W. F. Watson, the secretary, said that "Trotsky was the greatest statesman in

the world to-day." The delegates were also assured that if the British Government would not stop the war the workers would do it, and do it now, whilst a delegate from the Liverpool Electrical Trade Union demanded that the war should be stopped immediately, because "it was a war of Capitalist aggression."

The remarks we have quoted indicate the temper and attitude of the R. and F. leaders and explain their endeavours to stir up as much trouble for the Government as possible. The speeches made by Kealey, W. Gallacher, Arthur McManus, John McLean (Bolshevik Consul at Glasgow) and James Maxton during December and January all indicate a unanimous desire to create a physical revolution in this country. The food problem and the man-power proposals were chosen as the most suitable pretext on which to base revolutionary demands and defeatist policy.

On January 27th Sir Auckland Geddes addressed a meeting of Engineers in Liverpool. The opposition which he met with on this occasion does not mean that the Liverpool workmen are unpatriotic. Liverpool has the reputation of being one of the most patriotic cities in the Kingdom—but it does mean that even in patriotic centres there is danger of revolutionary extremists getting control of Labour organisations and committing the members to a policy that would be as disastrous for Labour as for the rest of the community. Liverpool, like other centres, has a small but very active group of Syndicalists, and the events in Russia under the Lenin-Trotsky *régime* seem to have created an insane desire to emulate the antics of those champion wreckers of all law and order. To this Syndicalist minority we must add the Pacifists who towards the end of last year began to pay particular attention to Liverpool and Birkenhead, importing for propaganda purposes some of the star-extremists from the Clyde.

On the day following, January 28th, the Minister of National Service proceeded to Glasgow to address a meeting of the Clyde workers, and again it was evident that a small group of individuals, holding views and demanding measures that probably few of the workers on the Clyde or elsewhere really approve, is able to dominate meetings and carry unpatriotic resolutions which, and if carried out in the manner intended by the proposers, would reduce this country to impotence.

To appreciate the position on the Clyde we must remember that this district has long been a happy hunting ground of every type of agitator. Here, as in Manchester, Liverpool and Sheffield, the publication of the man-power scheme of the Govern-

ment was preceded by a stop-the-war campaign organised by the I.L.P., the U.D.C., the N.C.F., and other similar bodies. Many speeches, often of a seditious nature, were delivered, and the Allied war aims were grossly misrepresented, while the Bolshevik and German "comrades" received round after round of applause.

The field having thus been prepared by "defeatist" propaganda, it was not very difficult to organise opposition to the fresh demands of the Government. The ball started rolling on the Clyde on January 18th, when a meeting of the Engineers passed a resolution in which the delegates undertook to advise the members of their unions to down tools unless the Man-Power Bill was withdrawn, and the game of abusing and misrepresenting the Government proceeded merrily up to the eve of the Geddes meeting on the 28th January. For a full account of the proceedings on that occasion we must refer our readers to the columns of *Forward* (February 2nd), which, we believe, was the only newspaper to obtain a full report. For our immediate purpose it is sufficient to remark that the interjections and subsequent questions put by McManus showed plainly the sources of inspiration of the organised opposition. It was also evident that the audience included students of the writings of Mr. Walton Newbold and Mr. E. D. Morel.

Despite great provocation, the Minister kept his temper (how weary he must be of the strains of "The Red Flag"), and the meeting, with six dissentients, duly passed the resolution fully reported in the Press on January 29th: (1) pledging itself to oppose to the uttermost the call for men; (2) demanding an armistice on all fronts; and (3) declaring the intention of "the workers of Glasgow" to do nothing to support the carrying on of the war.

This unpatriotic resolution created much indignation, not only among thousands of loyal men and women workers in Glasgow (where many resolutions have since been passed condemning the attitude of the Syndicalists and Pacifists), but also all over the country. This widespread resentment appears to have had a sobering effect upon the extremists, and on February 10th a meeting of Engineers and Allied Trades was held to further consider the situation. On January 28th it had been decided to give the Government ten days' grace to comply with the demands of the Glasgow resolution, but when the time came more moderate counsels prevailed and a resolution was eventually carried in favour of waiting for the decision of the conference of Allied Socialists in London on February 20th before taking further action. This decision seems to imply

that some of the rebels realise that in threatening to stop the war by downing tools they made a tactical mistake, and that the Clyde workmen, despite much Syndicalist and Pacifist exploitation, are not prepared to betray their country at the bidding of MacManus and his Sinn Fein sympathisers.

The British Army in France is not a little puzzled at the trend of events in certain parts of the United Kingdom. Soldiers are often accused of lack of imagination, and it must be admitted that they fail to understand how it comes about that a handful of youths of military age in overalls have so long been allowed to dictate terms to the Government, at the cost of injury to their brothers in khaki, notwithstanding the disapproval of their shopmates, and in defiance of the declared purpose of the nation. We are told that there are two sides to every question, and, no doubt, the Army consoles itself with the reflection that, in the opinion of Mr. Kellaway, there is nothing to be feared from industrial unrest as long as the Government continues to accede to every demand and to yield to every threat.

There is this much to be said in favour of a policy of subordinating principle to expediency: the opportunist makes easy progress in the initial stages when the difficulties are small. Unfortunately, however, the time comes when opportunism has to meet its creditors and go into liquidation. Then the trouble begins—for his successor—who, with diminished resources of goodwill, has to re-establish principle whilst faced with a crop of liabilities which ought never to have been incurred.



PAYMENT BY RESULTS.

(NOTE.—*Arising from the article in our January issue, "Payment by Results," we have received the following contribution from one of our readers, who has had many years' practical experience with the working of the Premium Bonus System, which he advocates.*

He does not consider that the scheme suggested in the former article referred to would be in any way a satisfactory solution of the problem, for he maintains it would merely make for restricted output, inasmuch as the efficient worker, having completed his task under the allotted time, would cease working, with the result that the output per day of the efficient and inefficient would be brought down to the same level. Moreover, the proposal suggested would be applicable only to factories doing repetition work.

No scheme, he adds, can possibly be a perfect one, but in his opinion, based upon actual experience over an extended period, the Premium Bonus System gives, on the whole, the best results.)

THE most reasonable claims that labour can make are : assurance of a fair wage and opportunity for winning the highest earnings for their efforts. Workmen are not alike either in ability or natural gifts ; it is, therefore, unfair that all should receive the same week's wage. In such case there must be discontent, latent although not always demonstrated, on the part of the more able men who are inclined to restrict output when they become conscious of the inequality of their reward. The Premium Bonus System of payment by results gives, under the most adverse conditions, the full time wage, while the central idea is the payment to the workman of a premium or bonus for all effort (in excess of that required for the ordinary day's pay) towards increasing the quantity and maintaining the quality of the work.

The considerations which govern the successful application of any such system are :—

1. Extreme simplicity so that the details can be readily understood by every workman ; doubt leads to suspicion and a feeling that he may be defrauded of his reward.

2. It must be clearly obvious that the reward is a result of effort, and it must immediately increase the workers' earnings ; any delay tends to reduce incentive to sustained effort.

3. The fullest information and explanation should be given,

workmen being encouraged to ask questions and officials urged to answer freely, fully and fairly, so that complete confidence may be cultivated.

4. All responsible for the application and working of the system must not only know every detail of it, but be enthusiastic advocates of its benefits to workers and of its tendency to increase production in order that the inherent objection to change may be overcome.

The requirement of simplicity is fulfilled by the following system of Premium Bonus Payment by Results:—A careful estimate is prepared of the time needed for a given piece of work, allowance being made, of course, for the time necessarily occupied in fixing the work in a machine, for setting the tools, for handling the work by cranes, etc. This “base estimate of time” is arbitrarily increased by 50 per cent. and the total forms the “agreed time” allowed for the work. The addition of 50 per cent. to the time ascertained under the supervision of experts ensures, to begin with, higher earnings than on ordinary time work. Moreover, the employer agrees that in the event of the same work being repeated at a later date the “agreed time” will not be reduced unless the method of manufacture is altered or new mechanical appliances are provided, ensuring automatically a reduction of actual time taken for the job. The worker is paid the full value of the time he has devoted to the work, and where the time thus spent on the work is less than the agreed time the worker is paid full time wage also for half the difference. Thus, if the “agreed time” is 100 hours, and the job is done in 60 hours, the worker is paid for 80 hours, equal to a bonus or premium of 33 per cent. on his time wage—or time and a-third. Thus there is not only simplicity but the reward is clearly a return for effort and is immediately paid. At the same time the volume of production is increased and the cost and selling price reduced, so that there is no inducement to change the agreed time or to “cut rates.”

Objection is sometimes made to the practice of giving the workman the benefit of only half the time saved. “Why,” it is asked, “does the worker get paid for only 20 out of the 40 hours he saves in the 100-hour job instanced?” The answer is that the saving in time is not solely due to the worker’s effort but in part is a consequence (*a*) of mechanical and other facilities being provided by the management promptly as required, (*b*) of advice given by foremen, and generally (*c*) of efficiency in anticipating the requirements in each detail for the progress of each man’s work. Such aids to the expediting of work cannot be estimated. A considerable portion of the estimated time

is allowance for the worker being idle, as, for instance, in the case of machine work, for fixing the work, obtaining special tools and gauges, etc.; it is obvious that a smart foreman with a well-organised shop can, by reducing the time of idleness, materially assist the workman to earn a high premium. This is actually the case in practice. Indeed investigation as to efficiency is called for in the case of a shop where men consistently earn premiums lower than those won by men in other parts of the same factory. Moreover, the award of half the saving to the employer is a reasonable incentive to the management towards further effort to save time. This tends to augment the worker's share.

The premium system is preferable to other systems of payment by result because it can be applied, without risk of great inaccuracy, to new work where it is difficult to make a close prospective estimate of the time required for a job. If an excessive time estimate be made, the halving between employer and worker of the time saved tends to minimise the full effect of inaccuracy so far as the employer is concerned; if too low an estimate be made the arbitrary addition to the "agreed time" of 50 per cent. on the time estimate obviates any possibility of the man having to work for time wage only. Thus there is offered the inducement necessary to all systems of paying by result, while providing an elasticity which is not possessed by other systems for estimating "agreed times" without involving the risk of great variation in remuneration. Workmen's and employers' representatives agree, also, to recognise that the first job of a new kind is to be regarded as experimental so far as concerns the fixing of the agreed time; experience is thus gained before final fixture of the time. Thus the system admirably meets the condition of ensuring high earnings to the worker and low cost of production per piece, particularly in view of the guarantee not to cut rates unless conditions of manufacture are so improved as automatically to expedite output. This latter guarantee is not so easily conceded with piece work, because the employer gains less advantage by reduced cost of output and has not therefore the same incentive to expedite work. If cost, therefore, is to be lessened the piece rate must be ultimately cut. With the bonus system, where half the gain is due to shorter time being taken to a job, it becomes a first principle of efficient management to do everything possible to assist the worker to reduce the time taken to every job and therefore to increase his earnings per week.

Another objection raised to the system is that it differentiates

the degree of skill of each worker. The best workers earn most. This is inevitable to all systems of payment by result. Why should ability not be rewarded according to its merit and degree? Men responsible for squad work recognise the principle as they are never anxious to include in their squad workers inferior to their mates, and employers have to find other opportunities for utilising the individual efforts of such men. Moreover, there is the national need for accelerating production and cheapening costs, and therefore the selling price, in order to extend markets and augment exports. This need demands intensive incentive to individual effort, with its resultant reward in high earnings. Only by increasing exports of manufactured goods can the national balance-sheet be brought into a state where income to pay for the war will advance in the necessary degree.

The initial step in the introduction of the Premium System into a factory is the establishment of a rate fixing department, so that rate fixing can be carried out on ascertained and recorded times. This function must not be imposed as an extra duty on the foreman; but, in order to secure success and smooth working, he must be in sympathy with the system and co-operate with the rate-fixer in his work while all the time assisting the worker to earn bonuses. It may be thought that the workman who has been constantly operating a machine should know the times the various jobs will take, but this is seldom the case. He usually under-estimates his ability, and has no idea of the minimum time in which he can do a job until he has the inducement of an increase of earnings to provide an incentive to exertion and forethought. Although a man is not obliged to earn a premium, the average workman will at once avail himself of any chance offered to him of adding to his earnings; having once realised the gain from increased diligence, he will educate himself towards improved methods of doing work still more quickly.

Difficulties may arise in practice which must be solved and can be solved with tact and experience immediately they arise. The chief difficulty is the fixing of the "agreed time" in the first instance, and the essence of the Premium Bonus System is an attempt to minimise the risks incurred in fixing such time as already explained. Workmen at the commencement of a job, when values are being fixed, sometimes deliberately restrict output, while the employer, on the other hand, is tempted to take the time value at a low rate in order to avoid a mistake. In the endeavour to obviate restriction of output the employer has agreed to put up the time value of the job if it can be shown

to be rated too low, but has tacitly agreed not to reduce it if rated too high. Any such reduction of value leads directly to restriction of output. On the other hand, experience has shown that if excessive values are not reduced workmen in other parts of the factory earning less in bonuses use the higher earnings of their mates in other departments as an argument for an increase in their own standard of payment. The whole question hinges on the absolute need for fixing an equitable time value in the first instance, and the difficulty of doing this is greatly increased if there is concerted restriction of output by workmen at the commencement of the job, and this not infrequently occurs.

Differences between representatives of employers and workers must be promptly and reasonably tackled in the spirit indicated in the main considerations laid down at the commencement of this article. But to ensure complete success it is advisable that side by side with the rate-fixing section there should exist an appeals section composed of representatives of both employers and workers, and possessing the full confidence of all workmen. To such appeals section all serious differences must be immediately referred. The decisions should be given without loss of time so that debatable questions may be got rid of without allowing opportunity for the development of disquietude and its inevitable feeling of injustice or inconsiderate treatment. Such condition is infectious and leads to that greater unrest which is a fertile soil for the operations of the agitator.

Throughout all negotiations and procedure the dominant idea must be kept closely in view—to stimulate and encourage all men to increase their earnings and to give the assurance of continuity of such earnings. The Premium Bonus System attains these ends and at the same time leads to that reduction in the cost of the product which is necessary to enable us to hold our own in the markets of the world.



FOOD FOR THOUGHT.

THOSE Defeatists who hoped that the War Aims of Allied Labour would be sufficiently humble to satisfy Germany, as also those advocates of a fight to a finish who were inclined to dismiss the interference of Labour as irresponsible and inopportune, will both have to revise their estimates. The memorandum issued by the Labour Party on February 23rd makes it perfectly clear that the Inter-Allied Conference is in no mood to accept the world-map drawn by Germany as a basis for negotiation, and declared emphatically that it would never consent to the acceptance of terms which would mean a German militarist victory. These statements will do much to clear the air, and may even induce Germany to revise her war aims before it is too late, for she knows very well that her defeat is only a matter of time as long as British Labour remains stanch.



Mr. J. H. Thomas, M.P., has a happy knack of saying the right thing at the right moment. We welcome his assurance that the Inter-Allied Conference will not attempt to usurp the functions of the Government. In Mr. Thomas's view "the responsibility for making peace is, and must remain, the Government's responsibility." We also find ourselves in full agreement with his statement that we have no intention of hoisting the white flag. "We do not intend to have a peace dictated by German militarism. We do not intend to have a peace forced upon us by the hellish methods adopted by our enemy. On the contrary, we will make it perfectly clear that if that is what they mean by peace, then it has got to be fought out."



The Inter-Allied Conference believes firmly in the efficacy of the proposed League of Nations. Outside the ranks of organised Labour there prevails much scepticism on this point. The line of reasoning adopted by the latter school of thought may be summarised as follows : A *de facto* League of Nations is now mobilised against the Central Powers, but nevertheless the minority group successfully defies the majority. There is only one burglar of any importance amongst the European States. His jemmy should be confiscated and he should be kept under police surveillance until his character is reformed. Meanwhile there seems to be no particular virtue in co-opting the said

delinquent on a committee of householders charged with the prevention of burglary. If Germany is beaten we shall get on very well without a League of Nations. If Germany is victorious she will use the League as cover for her sinister designs and ignore it when she is ready to strike.



On the other hand, the view of the Internationale, as adopted by the British Socialists and the Executive of the Labour Party, pays little or no attention to the ultimate resort to coercion, and believes that the teeth of any intending marauder will be drawn by the refusal of the working classes of the country concerned to take up arms against the League of Nations. This arrangement presupposes that militarism of the present German type will disappear after the war and that in its place some form of International Socialism will dominate the world. But everything depends upon the issue of the present struggle. If Germany is defeated we believe that the Hohenzollerns and the Prussian military machine will be dethroned from within and that with these obstacles out of the way a supreme League of Nations for the prevention of future wars could be called into being with every prospect of continued success. Once firmly established, such a League would proceed from strength to strength until its authority became paramount and unquestioned.



As sure as there is a sun in the heavens England will never enter upon a European war unless it is forced upon her by Germany. France has had enough fighting to suit the veriest glutton. America will never again be challenged by any European Power, for in defence she is invincible, and she desires nothing that can be gained by attacking other people. Italy only asks to live at peace with her neighbours. Austria, without German backing, hardly counts, and if Russia refused to fight when victory was hers for the taking, it is unlikely that she will ever have the stomach for a new beginning. The neutral States have witnessed a volcanic eruption from a distance in comparative safety, and there is no likelihood that they will ever wish for a second object lesson nearer home.



Taking all these considerations into account it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that the hope of the world will materialise only on one foundation, and that is the arrest of German militarism. The spirit which at present dominates Germany will listen to one argument only—the argument of force. There-

fore, there is no way round or out of the difficulty, the path is narrow and a wild beast bars the way; nothing remains but the solemn duty of looking to our weapons and forcing the passage. Under these circumstances no true lover of peace, though he labels himself Pacifist or Little Englander, can with honesty or intelligence work for an inconclusive peace with an unrepentant Germany. We appeal, therefore, with all earnestness and sincerity to every British citizen who wishes to save civilisation from the tortured fate of bleeding to death to look these facts squarely in the face without prejudice or bias, and above all without confusing the simple issue by any irrelevant consideration inspired by personal jealousy, class antagonism or false pride. This done, we are persuaded that no one will falter and that a united nation, strong in the conviction that the cause is just and our need imperative, will be proof against the temptation of yielding to any prompting of weakness or any suggestion of ignoble motive, and will courageously make that final effort which alone is required to turn loss into gain and to place the crown of achievement on the brow of sacrifice.



In the meantime we commend to the careful notice of all visionaries the advice which the Belgian Socialist, M. Vandervelde, gave to the delegates at the Inter-Allied Conference when he said, "We must not forget that if we are able to assemble here it is because the British Navy holds the seas and the millions of Allied soldiers maintain the lines."



We observe with satisfaction that the zealous persistence of Mr. Havelock Wilson and the gallant sailors whom he represents has borne fruit. The Inter-Allied Conference drew particular attention to the loss of life and property of merchant seamen and other non-combatants resulting from the inhuman and ruthless conduct of German pirates. The British mariner is not to be caught with chaff, however, and no soft words will turn the edge of his determination not to allow any traffic with the enemy by delegates who are not prepared to swim to the rendezvous.



Pacifists and Defeatists often complain that they are misunderstood. The complaint is not ill-founded. Their influence is misunderstood by other people and exaggerated by themselves. In their overweening vanity the betrayers of Russia imagined that the bulwark of German militarism would collapse like the walls of Jericho at the sound of their trumpetings, and their

British imitators are labouring under the same delusion. Taking themselves very seriously and believing they have a monopoly of all wisdom and all the virtues, Mr. Ramsay Macdonald and his colleagues are persuaded that those German Socialists who share their views are equally well equipped. They fail to distinguish between importance and self-importance. They rave against the government of the many by the few, and at the same time affirm that a minority of English Socialists have only to meet a minority of German Socialists in order to arrive at an understanding which shall frustrate the machinations of all the majorities. This conjuring trick is really quite simple, being based on the familiar algebraical convention which postulates that two minuses multiplied together make a plus.

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By Article 2 of the peace terms dictated by Germany at Brest-Litovsk the contracting nations agree to "refrain from all agitation against the Governments of the others . . . and their existence." The surrender of weapons, the dismantling of fortresses and the internment of warships are amongst the minor inconveniences of capitulation, but to be ordered to lay aside his trumpet must appear to Trotsky as *the crowning calamity*. It is to be observed, however, that no embargo has been placed on agitation directed against the existence of Russia's former Allies, and we may therefore expect a spring offensive, in the shape of an overwhelming avalanche of words, to develop in the immediate future.

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To Kerensky is attributed the saying that he looked forward to the Russian Revolution as a beautiful dream, but awoke to find it a horrible nightmare. Equally neat is the comment of *The Observer* that the Bolshevik *régime* has produced, not the promised new heaven and new earth, but a new hell.

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The impertinences of Mr. Finkelstein Litvinoff, *alias* Buckman and Harrison, show no signs of abatement. On February 18th he stated that "the attempt to dictate to Russia the form of Government she should adopt in order to receive recognition from the Governments of foreign nations was a flagrant interference with the rights of Russian people." Does Litvinoff forget the circular which he recently issued to British Trade Unionists, urging them to adopt Bolshevikism?

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"It would be well, in these days of much misunderstanding, if somebody would define Treason, and tell us what it really is."
—*Life*, December 17th, 1917.

We fancy that Queen Elizabeth, of blessed memory, would have had some caustic remarks to make to M. Litvinoff on the subject of Treason, and we regret that the gateless barrier of anachronism should forbid such an interview from taking place. She, of all the English, living or dead, was the least inclined to brook the interference of foreigners, and after the lapse of more than three hundred years her words have lost nothing of their exhilarating quality. "We would prefer," said Her Majesty, "that our subjects should be like chaste spouses with no eyes except for their husbands—neither do we like our sheep to be marked with a stranger's mark, or answer to the whistle of any foreigner."



At the meeting of the General Council of the Union of Democratic Control, which took place on February 20th, strongly worded resolutions were passed demanding public diplomacy. It was quite consistent with U.D.C. methods that the conference at which these resolutions were framed was held in secret.



The Agenda paper for the I.L.P. Conference to be held at Leicester on April 1st and 2nd, 1918, includes resolutions abolishing the Monarchy and State-granted honours, repudiating the National Debt, nationalising mines, shipping and electrical undertakings and demanding a minimum wage of £1 a day for six hours' work. Bermondsey asks for a tax of 18s. in the £ on large incomes, and Birmingham suggests that all forms of preparation for war should be abandoned. We fancy that Mr. Ramsay Macdonald's "German friends" would support these resolutions *con amore*, always provided, of course, that such explosive experiments are conducted at a safe distance from the German frontier.



Speaking in London on February 23rd, Mr. Macdonald is reported to have regretted that he was unable to assist at the deliberations of the Inter-Allied Conference and to have congratulated the delegates on the remarkable unanimity which had characterised their proceedings. Rumour has been busy with a different version, but, be that as it may, one is tempted to speculate whether Mr. Macdonald's absence did not conduce to the complete harmony which is advertised to have prevailed at the Central Hall, Westminster.



In the February number of **INDUSTRIAL PEACE** we suggested that Defeatists have fed—with but little healthy digestion—

upon Theosophy, Christian Science and other new religions. The Secretary of the Nottingham branch of the Theosophical Society writes protesting against what he considers as an undeserved slur upon that form of religion. He objects to the bracketing of Theosophy with Christian Science, and declares that many Theosophists have died in defence of King and country. We have no quarrel with Theosophy, and we pay unstinted tribute to all patriots, whatever their creed, who have laid down their lives in the nation's cause. We are ready to believe that Defeatists who call themselves Theosophists have failed to understand the ideals and doctrines of Theosophy, but we cannot ignore the fact that much of Mrs. Besant's activity in India during the period of the war has been of a dangerously Defeatist character, nor can we forget the obvious and well-known connection which exists between the Theosophical "Home Rule for India League" and the Defeatist *Herald*.

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We have also been called to book for stating that the housing accommodation at Barrow-in-Furness is "abominable." Our correspondent fears that we have been misled by the Commissioners' Report on Industrial Unrest, and declares that the housing agitation was worked up by the local branch of the I.L.P., who were intent on capturing and exploiting the Shop Stewards movement. He states further that it was "I.L.P. evidence" which was taken by the Commissioners, and that local people are fully aware that the "housing scandal" was merely eyewash worked up for political reasons. Whatever may have been the state of affairs in the past, we understand that the semi-permanent buildings erected by the Ministry of Munitions have now eased the overcrowding which was occasioned in the first instance by the sudden increase in the number of munition workers overtaking the building programme initiated by the local authorities.

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"The road to victory can only be made by our unremitting labour and solidified by our skill and devotion. If we sulk and idle while the enemy works, the responsibility will be ours and the shame of defeat will lie heavily upon our class. But if it is worth doing, let it be done, and let neither the industrial faddist nor the sedition-monger deflect our energies from so worthy and honourable a purpose."

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From *A Call to War Workers*, by F. H. ROSE, A.S.E.

"We are at war, not because we wanted war, but, in the main, because we loved Peace, not wisely but too well."

The Rt. Hon. R. PROTHERO.

No. VIII

APRIL

MCMXVIII

“The best cure for low wages
is more motive power.”

—*Coal Conservation*
Sub-Committee's Report.



INDUSTRIAL PEACE

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INDUSTRIAL PEACE

APPROACHING THE CROSSWAYS.

THE eight years that have passed since the general election of 1910 have been so crowded with epoch-making events, so charged with tremendous issues, that they overshadow their dwarfed predecessors like a group of giants amongst a company of pygmies. During this period history has been made at such a pace that institutions, as well as individuals, have not always been able to digest the consequent accumulation of unsolved problems, nor to adapt their machinery to ever-changing conditions. The old standards of political thought, of economic safeguards, and of class distinctions are no longer applicable to the times in which we live. Long cherished privileges and deep-seated traditions have had to be relinquished, and even ethical standards, hitherto afforded almost universal recognition, have undergone a startling metamorphosis, which is none the less revolutionary for all that the process has been gradual. There is no British institution which has been affected to a greater extent by this general *bouleversement* of standards than the House of Commons. Outwardly little changed in appearance, it conducts its business in accordance with its time-honoured procedure, and consists, for the most part, of the same individuals who sat on the same benches in those far-off days before the war. But its main occupation is gone, and the machine, rusting in disuse, neither throbs with energy nor generates power. Mr. Austen Chamberlain said recently that "he was afraid that the present House of Commons no longer exercised the same authority or possessed the same confidence of the country as its predecessors. Though perhaps inevitable under the circumstances, he regretted it because he knew of no other public organ which could take its place." Few will be found to disagree with Mr. Chamberlain's conclusion, for in spite of much ill-informed criticism, and not a little ill-natured comment, the House of Commons is nevertheless held in high esteem by most Englishmen who know anything about the history or the political needs of their country. People who are always railing at what they call "politicians," who delight in referring to the "gasworks at Westminster," and who demand that "men of action" should supplant "the windbags," generally save themselves the trouble of thinking the matter out to a logical conclusion, and do not cease their

wailing when the silent action they ask for is taken. Parliament is accused of not admitting the country into its confidence, and at the same time of giving way to popular clamour. These scold the Government for failing to govern, those declaim against tyrannical Acts of Parliament which, so they aver, are robbing a downtrodden people of the last vestiges of freedom. It is impossible to please everybody, and we would suggest that these hardworking critics should make up their minds as to what they really want. Is it a dictatorship, and if so who is to be dictator? Should the House of Commons put up its shutters for the duration of the war, or should a quorum of members attend periodically to vote credits, running into thousands of millions, in silence? Alternatively should the war be run by Parliament in open session for the delectation of Germany and to the confounding of the plans of our Allies?

For our part we venture to think that, on the whole, a not unhappy mean has been struck between these extremes of absurdity, and that the great majority of members of Parliament have met a situation of extraordinary difficulty with sound judgment and patriotic restraint. There are, however, notorious exceptions, and the injury that has been inflicted upon the mother of Parliaments by a small group of ill-conditioned, conceited and narrow irreconcilables is as grievous as it is intolerable. Whilst it is some consolation to know that the opinions which these censorious guerillas ventilate are as distasteful to their own constituents as they are to the nation at large, their capacity for mischief remains, and the prestige of Parliament suffers accordingly. We hold no brief for the particular Government now in office, and are ready to admit that serious mistakes and avoidable lapses have been made, but the nation has a right to expect from all loyal citizens, now if ever, not spiteful insinuations and embarrassing obstruction, but generous support and encouragement for the Government of the day. If, as some seem to desire, the reasonable and patriotic elements absent themselves from Westminster and remain silent in the constituencies, the inevitable result will be to enhance the relative importance of the defeatists and cranks. Surely the conclusion dictated alike by common sense, custom and expediency is that members of Parliament should acquaint themselves with the general trend of public opinion in their constituencies, irrespective of old party allegiance, and should seek every legitimate opportunity of representing that point of view in the House of Commons without being accused of verbosity or self-advertisement.

That the personnel of the present House of Commons was elected to give effect to policies which are now as dead as

mutton is undeniable, and the charge, so often made, that it is no longer representative is also true to a qualified extent, but amongst the blind the one-eyed man is king, and for the time being the existing House of Commons, whatever its deficiencies, is the only organisation in the United Kingdom which can legitimately claim to represent any comprehensive volume of representative opinion.

In a few months' time, however, a general election will be held—an election which may well prove to be the most momentous in the whole history of Britain. The political world shows signs of waking up. But to what is it awakening? To a resumption of the old parliamentary manœuvres and intrigues? God forbid! for that would open up an illimitable vista of future calamities. The whole nation cries out for clear, sincere and resolute government. There is no room for the weak-kneed, the self-seeking and the inefficient: the crisis needs the best brains of the community, and demands that they should be offered freely and used without stint. In the coming autumn some fourteen million men and some six million women will have to cast their votes to decide the future of the kingdom. The bulk of these voters are uneducated, in the political sense, they are not organised, and they have no clear conception of any central national policy over and above their sectional requirements. Are the candidates who propose to offer themselves for election adequately equipped for the responsibilities they are willing to undertake? Experienced politicians may know how to angle for votes, but that is a paltry accomplishment in comparison with the infinitely serious problems that confront the nation. In the feverish atmosphere of a general election there will be party cries, impassioned appeals, red herrings, misrepresentations, personal ambitions, and many other disturbing influences at work to obscure judgment and confuse real issues.

"Opportunity has locks in front, but is bald behind." Now is the time to learn, think, digest and form conclusions, to winnow the useless chaff and store the essential grain of reasonable conviction and honest principle. We are approaching the crossways, and it behoves all who aspire to be guides to make up their minds beforehand whether the road to safety lies straight on, or whether it is to be found on this side or on that.

In the February number of *INDUSTRIAL PEACE* we ventured to ask intending candidates what attitude they propose to take up with regard to certain fundamental social problems which will agitate twenty million voters at the next election. Curiosity prompts us to inquire further, and to ask our future law makers what views they hold on the question of an industrial policy.

Are they prepared with constructive propositions, or will they divide themselves into opponents and supporters of the Labour programme without impartially examining the facts or weighing the consequences?

We are not suggesting that detailed programmes should be prematurely advocated, but sound principles are not come by on the spur of the moment, and the time is short. Extremists are busy preparing and developing attacks against the existing order of society, and its defenders will be caught napping unless they are both forewarned and forearmed.

The following summary of constructive points, formulated by a member of Parliament who hopes that the old political parties, with their caucus-contrived and whip-driven squabbles, will find that there is no place for their discredited manœuvres in the new Britain which it is our duty to build when this nightmare is past, seems to offer a basis for a sane and generous solution of some of the more urgent problems that call for settlement:

(1) Victory is the indispensable preliminary of any social reconstruction—if such reconstruction is to be British and not German—and, indeed, of the continued existence of our liberties and our Empire. We must, therefore, first concentrate everything on winning the war.

This condition being assumed, we must find a way to put an end to the intolerable menace under which we and other peaceably-minded peoples have existed for more than a generation. Failing a general reduction of armaments, we must take all necessary measures to safeguard our national security both on land and sea throughout the Empire, and for that purpose recognise that the first and most sacred duty of every Briton, whatever his birth, station or circumstances, is to take up arms, if need be, in the defence of his country, or to serve in whatever other capacity he is called upon to fill.

(2) After the war we should maintain the smallest professional army, compatible with national safety, backed up by universal military training on a purely democratic basis, with no exemption of any kind except physical unfitness.

(3) We must have the clearest possible union and consolidation of all parts of the Empire, and their recognition of their right to an effective voice in diplomatic, naval, military, fiscal and all other questions which affect the common interest of the whole Empire, and an equal right to discuss and settle these matters.

(4) Some measure of national control of, and national assistance to, all industries which are essential to national security.

(5) The utmost possible development of our national resources in these islands—of agriculture, forestry, and the

production of raw materials, so that we may be far less dependent than in the past on supplies from overseas.

(6) The most complete system of free education—elementary, higher and technical—that can be given by the State to the rising generation. Good citizenship can only be founded on good education. The most profitable investment that any nation can make is to spend its money on the formation of character and on the nurture of intelligence.

(7) A Ministry of Health with full powers to improve the hygienic conditions of our people, and particularly of children.

(8) A great and generous national scheme for the better housing of the workers—both in urban and rural districts—and the abolition of all slums, with their attendant miseries and injury to the race.

(9) Equality of opportunity for women to engage in trades, industries and occupations in which, by their actual service in war, they have shown themselves capable of serving.

(10) Minimum and adequate wages in all trades and occupations, and abolition of every retrograde rule or practice which restricts a maximum output and limits the power of the nation to hold its own with trade rivals.

(11) A better and more even distribution of the national wealth, which, without discouraging thrift and enterprise or driving capital out of the country, shall lessen the contrast between social and economic conditions of the rich and the poorer classes and give to every British man and woman a fair opportunity—conditional on their own industry and conduct—to live in reasonable comfort, and to bring up a family of future citizens in decent and healthy surroundings.

(12) Above all, we owe the establishment of such better conditions to the men who have left their all behind and gone forth to fight for us and to risk everything for their country. This means that not only are all disabled soldiers and sailors entitled to the most generous treatment in the way of pensions and all our other fighting men to full and suitable employment after the war, but they must return to a better England than they left behind, and to improved conditions which will make them feel their service was not in vain and that their country is not ungrateful.

This programme does not claim to be comprehensive, but it represents the broad lines which should be followed if we have the intelligence and the courage to eradicate the diseases which have been allowed to vitiate the past, and to rebuild our national life on a righteous, healthy and lasting foundation.



CATACLYSM VERSUS GROWTH.

THERE is always a danger in characterising very simply any of the great entities, such as an age or a nation or a man. But it may be said, with some confidence, of modern thought that its outstanding achievement has been the discovery of growth. This was, of course, a rediscovery; but we need not quote ancient theory here, or contrast the long intervening periods when thought and belief, so far as they were active, centred on other ideas than that of growth. That things grow and that they can only be understood by following out their life-histories has become almost the foremost axiom of modern science. Even in fields in which the term life-history, strictly speaking, is a metaphor or a misnomer, the historical method of enquiry may often be used with advantage. So fashionable, indeed, has this method become that the limits of its stricter application are continually overstepped.

Two main trends may be distinguished in the modern interest in growth, the scientific and the speculative. It is with certain delinquencies of speculation that this paper is chiefly concerned. What these are may be in part elucidated from the merits of science. Science has the advantage in holding to its point, probing and proving at first hand the natures of real things. It studies the complexity and the variegation of their elements, but always with an eye on their unity. It watches their changing phases under a strong conviction of their underlying permanence and continuity. Upon occasion, of course, things perish. Science is then the poorer for having lost its subject matter. Short of complete dissolution things may undergo by violence some catastrophic change. Radical loss or change of character nonplusses science. The effects of violence or disease, for example, disappoint science even when they do not reach to complete disaster, except in this respect. Under such stresses nature, thrown perforce upon a strong defensive, evinces in curative or stabilising processes a unique emphasis upon her characteristic modes. The struggles of living things, when most threatened, to be most themselves, and when damaged or diminished to recover fullness of character, are among the most moving spectacles in nature. Science makes progress easiest with things that have definite character and that keep it in character. Happily for science nature, that abhors a vacuum, seldom proceeds *per saltum*.

By painstaking and precise enquiry science has elucidated innumerable life-histories. A vast body of knowledge exists

regarding living things and their relationships and affiliations. Much is also known about those things which enjoy a "sort of life," which, though not organisms, may best be studied, perhaps in certain respects, as if they were. Of these human society, in whatever ways or groups or for whatever ends it may be organised, is the chief example. Upon all these objects of science there has been abundant speculation. Ideally scientific study and speculation should go hand in hand. In reality divergence is unavoidable. All mankind, so far as it has capacities for thought, is potentially either scientific or speculative. The two trends have often stood in an inverse ratio. Modern thought early showed the characteristic divergence. Let knowledge but begin to accumulate and in a twinkling you will have, far oftener than not, an imposing superstructure of highly generalised theory. The new modern knowledge, in the ardour of its early success, gave way thus to speculation, and, science and speculation falling into different hands, the divergence sharpened into antagonism. There are few quarrels so easy to enter on. Science believes speculation to be ignorant, and speculation finds science unintelligent. The nineteenth century let loose a flood of generalisations as ambitious as superficial. Many of these have vanished with the growth of knowledge. The present era, which can be clearly distinguished from the last, theorises less boldly.

A little knowledge is a dangerous thing chiefly because it tends to evaporate in vague and flimsy speculation. It is perhaps most dangerous where the dividing line between fact and theory is least clear, that is, in enquiries about human society. Science must begin by being sure of its facts. Every scientist knows how difficult it is to disengage facts from those effects of inference, association, interpretation, interest, which facts, whatever they may be in their purity, undergo in the minds of observers. This is true even of the more objective studies. But in the facts of human society, purity, in the sense of simplicity and ultimateness, is almost unattainable. In this case the material of science, when it reaches us, has already undergone a kind of sophistication. The elucidation of this material, under risks of bias, insensibility, invention, and sheer error, is extraordinarily difficult. The material, besides, is infinite in quality and very diverse. We live so deep in it that we seldom see it in proper balance or perspective. The best-meant characterisations of it can scarcely be free from partiality and arbitrariness. And the most important part of the material, from the point of view of life-history—namely, its past, is not available. The past can only be known when it has been recon-

structed. From physical relics and surviving conditions something can be learned, though not much. You do not know primitive man from having his arrowheads in your showcase. The interpretation of written records is difficult, because these are necessarily fragmentary, and because their contents were set down arbitrarily and have survived by chance. The truth is that we can do very much as we like with the infinite past. It is almost the same with the present. Everything depends on where the argument starts and what it may choose to ignore. In all these matters objective criteria are scarcely to be hoped for. Only the rough subjective criterion remains—viz., that other men and other times were, in essentials and in the balance of these, not widely different from ourselves. The best guide to their vanished life, most probably, is whatever fullness of normal life we enjoy in the present.

But men must needs theorise about the things which cannot be completely formulated or exactly determined, such as society, civilisation, morality. Despite its uncertainties—perhaps in virtue of these—this game never ceases to fascinate. It can be a merry game. If it is played with humour its excesses need mislead no one. It is not enough that the humour should be there. Its presence, and, indeed, its very necessity, must be realised by the bystanders. Let anyone who thinks that philosophising should be, or can safely be, wholly serious, read Hegel's philosophy of history or his philosophy of nature. Though Hegel had humour, those who have fought for his mantle have lacked it. Theorists abound who miss or crassly conceal the riskiness of the soaring flights of their profession. Many of them, with the savant's malice, affect results paradoxically different, at least in form, from the verdicts of common sense. Whatever their distinctive extravagances they will all, probably, offer you a formula, or rather they would have offered you one, for the nineteenth century is past. Many believed then that they understood fully the nature of the march of progress. This march, unfortunately for them, is not an object to be analysed and named, or a process to be approached by a theory, but an abbreviation for the fact that the world is full of life and growth. During the era of formulæ it was taught, for instance, that the secret of thought and of reality is a "dialectic of opposites." Contrasted phrases were held to succeed and incorporate each other by an inward dynamic. Thus the world—or you may call it experience—on its two sides of object and subject was energised and enriched. As a broad generalisation this doctrine had points of value. It emphasised the restlessness of the mind. Yet, though men cannot do or think

two things at once, the successive phases are not entirely simple or distinct. Each enters, less or more, into its successors. The theorist may be pardoned for claiming that not only is nothing lost or forgotten in the movement of mind but that in their substantial worth and meaning all elements are carried forward, even if only by implication or in a logical transmutation. In its own way this doctrine signalises growth of contents in the realm of mind and growing orderliness in those contents. Thus fullness and richness are made to depend not on mere gain of quantity, but on the refinements of inward order or the completeness of rational incorporation. This is all true, though it is not the whole of the truth. But it is a subtle doctrine, and such doctrines are the easiest to corrupt, and in their corruption the most damaging as guides.

The subtlety of these views is two-fold : first, in the intellectual puritanism of their prime assumption, piquant to the point of perversity, whereby thought is taken to be the substance of life and the world ; and, second, in the provocative gaiety of the sketch of the principles and stage by which this thought moves. With each new step, we are to understand, thought gathers up in growing concreteness, in wider and richer "grasp," all that preceded. In the hands of the gross-minded these doctrines tend to disaster. The fundamental assumptions, which identify thought and the reality of the world, they reject at once as unmeaning. Realists to the core, they can only conceive of the movement of thought as inclusion, appropriation, replacement, seizure. For them "dialectic" means a relation like that between the fat and the lean kine in Pharaoh's dream. There has been nothing esoteric, for instance, in the popular handling by certain "philosophical" historians of past and present eras. Consider the temptation of this trend of theory for historians of any sort. An historian's duty is to recount the past, of which he can know very little. What he knows will not lack emphasis at his hands. At the risk of caricature or untruth, he will expand and generalise stray items of information till they colour or monopolise the tale of ages. Thus you get history in segments. If enough were known, the story would be both various and continuous. Maps used to be made on the principles on which history is still written for the only class that reads it, the young. "Here are elephants," on the old maps of Africa, is as true as "the age of King John." Probably not a tithe of King John's subjects knew his name, or were told of his death, and all his fame is posthumous. It is the besetting sin of historians to distinguish periods. Human affairs in themselves do not proceed *per saltum*. Introduce an

ambitious historian to the theory of dialectic, and he will use it to hallow his evil habit of cutting up history into periods with distinctive labels. He will now retort that the procedure *per saltum* is no less than a duty. Thus with the bad historian the harmless thought-movement of the pure theorist turns into the destructive supersession of one phase or element of society by another. Many modern Germans have been taught to believe that British world-power, producing in due time its own antidote, would perish by the advent of German world-power, which, by the same remorseless logic, may itself suffer a like catastrophic eclipse. It is true that life is travail, and that struggle and sacrifice abound. But to say that life and growth reveal their essence clearest in movements of predatory violence and destructive usurpation is travesty. This is to confuse life with eating or digestion. It is "nature red in tooth and claw" with a vengeance. Among the peculiar obsessions of the nineteenth century was this, that the lifelong effort of every animal and every species was to eat every other, or, at the mildest, to compete ferociously in eating third parties. Hunger is certainly a very strong and steady force, but eating is not everything. In many of the higher animals food provides energy for a great surplus of activities which are the true substance of life. Men, for instance, have their work and their play. They live and grow through both, by responding in peaceable co-operation to the contact and the needs of other men. True, men eat the pigs, though only on condition of allowing them some measure of family life and of other natural frivolities as befits their kind and their span of life. And men enslave horses and dogs, but seldom eat them, and both horses and dogs profit by this. But men do not eat men, or enslave them, though cannibalism and slaveholding have occurred at times. Only a German theorist could hold, or even seem to hold, that nation, so to speak, should eat nation, and that this is the method of evolution.

Few general ideas have bred more fallacies or condoned more wrongs than evolution. It provoked a crude worship of change. In reality change is always relative to permanence that greatly outweighs it. Nor are all changes for the good. Within the short span of human life continuity of character is far more important than change. Within times of which there is record men appear to have changed scarcely at all. Arts and apparatus and material have accumulated, but will and purpose, the body of sentiments and interests that govern conduct, remain unaltered. In distant ages private virtues were probably as great as now and public

follies no greater. If in modern days the comedy of human affairs goes with a better swing and in a steadier light it is because man's power over nature is greater and his habit of mutual help stronger. His real gain from the long lapse of time is in efficiency. But efficiency rests on a moral basis, the acceptance of co-operation, and in its turn it breeds like virtues and graces. If you wish a formula for progress and a measure of value for change the growth of mutual help will serve at least as well as any other.

Mutual help indeed ! It is scarcely for this that Europe, spell-bound under false theories and diverse passions, is heading. The passions can never be wholly exorcised. With all the greater scrupulousness therefore must mankind examine its theories. The past age, looking at history superficially, has familiarised itself with the idea of successive phases or stages, the contents of which are mutually exclusive. It is true, of course, that on a cursory view now one item and now another is more prominent in social or political life. Human interests, taken in the mass, are so various that the emphasis must vary from time to time. But the mixture of elements, with all the correlations, tensions, and antagonisms, into which its variety necessarily develops, remains fairly constant. In a complex society many of the distinctions which arise undeniably contain the germ of conflict. The risk lies in an unstable balance between co-operating and antagonising tendencies. Thus capital and labour combine to produce goods and to levy toll on the consumer ; but they have their private quarrels, too. The problem is how to secure peace between them, along with justice for the consumer. This adjustment, though delicate, is yet practicable. It calls for patience, industry, and vigilance. These must be used upon the contrasted elements of the problem. You will effect nothing by thinking either away. They quarrel vexatiously, it is true. When the quarrel is exceptionally violent, the very worst way of ending it has its attractions—namely, the making away with one of the parties. But it is not true that, if these could be parted, for example, so as to succeed each other in time rather than to co-exist, you would have peace. Your peace would be a solitude. Family life, too, breeds broils. Yet who would suggest relegating husbands and wives to different periods ? It is really absurd to suppose that a quarrel arising in the course of some joint venture can be settled by the extermination or the complete subjugation of either party. If your nerves are overwrought, or if you are of an over-bearing temper, you may find it difficult, at the crisis of the quarrel, to believe that an accommodation is the true cure, and

not the sword or its equivalent. You will favour the "once-for-all" method. If you are an untutored Russian you will desire to make an end of "exploiters." If you are a Prussian militarist you will be for striking a shrewd blow for world sovereignty. Both visionaries mean to open a new era, and to make a new world by leaving out half the old one. Neither cherishes continuity or the variety with freedom which gives substance to continuity. Each desires a "clean cut" whereby the elements of the previous phase shall be obliterated in the new. The immediate method is the same in both cases—namely, force.

And this *dénouement* is due in some part to nineteenth century speculation. Its two-fold contribution is indubitable. The struggle for existence, in its most cruel and lawless form, was generalised almost into a rule of life, as if all animals were beasts of prey and men mere animals. And the rhetoric of pseudo-philosophers has popularised the shallowest ideas of races and ages, so that for many whatever is suppressed in these bird's-eye views scarcely exists, while prominence means monopoly of power and right. This, surely, is the acme of levity and folly.

For the evils of false theory the remedy is more knowledge and a chastened temper. In England this remedy has become the fashion. Despite the clamour of class war and of other melodramatic extravagances the prevailing attitude towards certain phases of tension, political and economic, is tolerant and studious. Tension, it is felt, need not be let degenerate into conflict, since its normal form implies a saving measure of co-operation. The war, indeed, has thrown a reconciling light on many old controversies. For the moment the old antagonisms are relaxed. But it is not enough to see that it is in quasi-co-operative relationships that tension normally arises. In all human effort the germ at least of co-operation is there. It is for us to make it grow. It can only grow quietly and gradually, outwards from a thousand centres till the whole mass is leavened. It is this growth that is of the essence of social progress. There is no need to water it with blood and tears. Let a people foster the spirit of mutual help and employ it methodically on the problems of corporate life, and it will matter little how complex that life is or at how many points it may threaten discord. The prevailing effect will be harmonious. No elaboration or refinement of institutions will atone for the lack of the right spirit. While cataclysm rages on the mainland of Europe let those who remain in England spend their thought on promoting this spirit.



ONE-BREAK SYSTEM.

IN this brief article we shall seek to take up a detached attitude toward the subject under notice. The One Break System is already in operation in many works. In not a few works it has been in operation some time. In a northern town it has been recently introduced in engineering works generally as the result of negotiations between two organisations representing employers and employed. We have had an opportunity of comparing notes with one who has taken no inconsiderable part in the negotiations referred to, and who, further, has control of an important works in the town.

First of all it may perhaps be wise to explain what the One Break System is. It is an adjustment of working hours which eliminates the stop or break for breakfast. The effect of this is that there is one break instead of two—namely, the midday dinner hour. The working hours are therefore divided into two spells.

In the town of which we speak employers and employed met in the summer of 1917 and by mutual consent discussed thoroughly and frankly the merits and demerits of the One Break System in so far as these could be foreseen. The employers, on the one hand, were of the opinion that the best time for starting work was 8 a.m., thus giving the men an opportunity of obtaining a good breakfast without having to rise at a too early hour. They had in mind also the workers who might have to come some distance from their homes. The representatives of the employed, on the other hand, were in favour of an earlier start—namely, 7 a.m.—their chief argument being that this would permit of an earlier cessation of work in the evening, thus giving a longer evening for leisure. Ultimately, however, a compromise was effected and resulted in an agreement that work should be started at 7.30 a.m.

The actual starting and stopping times agreed upon are shown in the following schedule :—

	First Spell.			Second Spell.				Total.
	From	To	Hours Worked.	From	To	Hours Worked.		
Monday ...	a.m. 7.30	p.m. 12.30	5	p.m. 1.30	p.m. 5.45	4½		9½
Tuesday ...	7.30	12.30	5	1.30	5.45	4½		9½
Wednesday ...	7.30	12.30	5	1.30	5.45	4½		9½
Thursday ...	7.30	12.30	5	1.30	5.45	4½		9½
Friday ...	7.30	12.30	5	1.30	5.30	4		9
Saturday ...	7.30	11.30	4	—	—	—		4
Total number of hours worked per week						...	...	50

The employers, of course, agreed to pay for 50 hours exactly the same rates of wages as had hitherto been paid for 54 hours, whilst the employed, on their part, agreed to give the whole system a fair trial for a period of twelve months.

It may be mentioned that in the case of some works, particularly those in which female labour is employed, the dinner hour is taken from 12 o'clock to 1 o'clock, instead of from 12.30 to 1.30, thus making the first spell of work $4\frac{1}{2}$ hours in duration and the second $4\frac{3}{4}$ hours, which would appear to be a more satisfactory disposition of hours. In this case the longer spell of work takes place after the midday meal, although the difference between the first and the second spell is only 15 minutes.

Now let us see what has been the actual effect of the system since its introduction in August, 1917 : (a) On output, (b) on the cost of production, (c) on the health and well-being of the workers, (d) on time losses, (e) on break losses.

(a) *Output*.—From figures which we have seen it may be at once admitted that the introduction of the One Break System has not increased output. On the other hand, the same figures do not indicate any serious decrease in output. In some works the output has decreased more than was expected. In other works, again, they show no decrease whatever. Taking a broad view of the position it may be said, therefore, that the decrease in output is only slight. The slight drop in output is probably more than compensated by the advantages which are hereafter referred to.

(b) *Cost of Production*.—Where the increase in cost of production could be measured, collected data seem to indicate that this varies from about $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to $16\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. But it is hoped that when everybody becomes more accustomed to the system and when the present conditions which cause weariness and irritability are removed the effect on the cost of production will be less adverse. It is difficult at the present accurately to gauge the effect which the system may have on the cost of production owing to the frequent changes which are taking place in the rates of wages paid. Since the system was brought into effect there have been advances granted both to male and female workers, in addition to the $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. bonus to skilled men and the $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. bonus to those working under various schemes of payment by results. In consequence it is difficult to differentiate between increased cost of production resulting from the advances referred to and that, if any, arising from the introduction of the One Break System.

(c) *Health and Well-being of Workers*.—We have made inquiries in works in which both male and female labour are employed,

and in which the One Break System has been adopted, and have therefore had an opportunity of obtaining direct information from the workers. We are assured by many of them of a strong preference for the One Break System. The workers say that they feel better fitted for their work ; and when peace comes once again and conditions are more normal the benefits of the One Break System will be more free to manifest themselves.

(d) *Time Losses*.—On the old Two Break System—*i.e.*, involving an early start and a stop for breakfast, workers would frequently come in at breakfast time. In their own parlance they would “lose a quarter.” Under the One Break System there is a considerable reduction in time lost in the early morning. In this connection it may be well to allow facts to speak for themselves, and to this end the following data are available :—

(a) Over a period of time *previous* to the introduction of the One Break System the loss of time in the early morning in respect of a given number of men was equal to an average of twelve hours per man per month.

(b) Over a similar period of time *after* the introduction of the One Break System and in respect of the same number of men the loss of time was equal to not more than three hours.

The effect of this is perhaps indicated more clearly if it is assumed for the sake of comparison that the given number of men is 100 and that the period of time is twelve months. In these circumstances the following figures are arrived at :—

- (i.) Time lost on Two Break System, 14,400 hours.
- (ii.) Time lost on One Break System, 3,600 hours.
- (iii.) Reduction in time lost (75 per cent.), 10,800 hours.

There is thus a great saving in respect of time lost which alone would appear strongly to justify the introduction of the One Break System. Furthermore, this saving benefits both employer and employed.

(e) *Break Losses*.—When workers stop for a meal they, so to speak, lose their stride. There is a loss of production immediately before and immediately after a break. This is what we mean, therefore, when we speak of break losses. Personal observations were recently taken which enable us to express in terms of work done the extent of break losses referred to. A number of groups or gangs of machines were taken and a careful record made of the number of minutes during which such machines were idle, and therefore non-productive, before and after the stop for breakfast. These records indicate that the idle period varied from six to twelve minutes. Resulting from

the various occasions on which observations were made it is found that the total loss yielded an average loss per machine of 8.75 minutes. Comparing the number of operators with the number of available or possible working minutes the loss worked out at 2.97 per cent. per operator per break. Taken in another way, and resolved into an expression of the break losses in terms of units of work, the loss was equal to 1.51 per cent. on one shift containing two breaks, or .755 per cent. per break.

If this be calculated according to the number of breaks in a year's time the annual aggregate break losses are very considerable. Therefore to eliminate a break is to eliminate a proportion of the losses due to such break. Theoretically, it would reduce them by one-half.

Summing up the whole matter carefully and detachedly it would certainly appear that the merits of the One Break System outweigh its demerits.

We might draw the attention of seriously minded people—both employers and employed—to the opposition which frequently meets any innovation simply because it *is* an innovation. After all, every innovation calls for serious and unbiased consideration, although every innovation may not be good. Much is said just now about Reconstruction. What is Reconstruction? It is to rebuild and reform. What is an innovation? It is a change in an established practice by the introduction of something new. Reconstruction, if it is to be effective, certainly involves as often as not the introduction of some amount of new material. Something is scrapped. Why not scrap prejudices and obsolete ideas just as one would scrap worthless or worn-out material? Employers and employed might easily reconstruct their opinions of each other which would involve a new attitude each toward the other. This would be an innovation of the very best kind.



THE SOCIALIST LABOUR PARTY.

THE Socialist Labour Party (S.L.P.) is a comparatively small body of Marxian Socialists. The headquarters of the party are in Renfrew Street, Glasgow, and its official organ is a monthly paper called *The Socialist*, edited by W. Paul. No precise information is given in the party's publication regarding its membership or the number of branches, but there are S.L.P. groups in London, Reading, Bristol, Birmingham, Coventry, Sheffield, Derby, Manchester, Wigan, Halifax, Newcastle-on-Tyne and Edinburgh. The national secretary lives at Reading and the treasurer at Halifax. The largest branch is that which makes Glasgow its headquarters.

The S.L.P. is distinct from, and more or less antagonistic to, other Socialist organisations in this country. The antagonism that exists between rival Socialist societies and which often develops into intense hostility is a very conspicuous and instructive characteristic of the so-called scientific section of British and foreign Socialism.

There are many types of Socialist. We have the Collectivists of the Fabian Society, inspired and directed by Mr. and Mrs. Sydney Webb, who want to find for every member of the community his or her proper place and function in the coming Collectivist State. Under this Fabian régime we shall all be duly ticketed and numbered, our duties and functions being allotted to us by experts who, during their training for this responsibility, have passed from the kindergarten course of the Fabian nursery to the Fabian summer school, and have finally graduated at the London School of Economics. As visualised by the Fabians this is the ideal Socialist State, in which we are to find salvation, provided, of course, that the Fabian experts are placed in control of our lives and liberties.

Between this ideal bureaucratic State of the Fabians and the industrial democracy of the S.L.P. and the I.W.W. there is a great gulf fixed, and no one appears to have yet been able to bridge the chasm. Many attempts have been made to formulate a Socialistic scheme that would be less bureaucratic than that of the Fabian experts and yet not so anarchistic and so soulless as that of the "advanced" Marxists, as represented by the S.L.P. and the Syndicalists. Well-intentioned efforts to discover a practical basis for Socialism have been the cause of a long and vituperative controversy between the devotees of the different and conflicting Socialist schools of thought. These disputes between the comrades, both in their origin and in their

conduct, remind us of the bitter sectarian feuds that from time to time have distressed and divided the Churches, a striking feature of which was that the greatest mutual hostility was shown between the individuals who were the nearest in agreement on the general tenets of their faith but whose difficulties arose out of the correct or incorrect interpretation of a text or dogma of comparatively little importance.

This curious characteristic of these old sectarian conflicts is to be observed to-day in the Socialist movement, and especially between those materialistic sections that so closely resemble each other in their theories, dogmas and methods that the uninitiated cannot perceive any reason for disagreement. These are the groups which conduct their controversies with so much bitterness and with such a wealth of personal rancour and innuendo that many of the comrades find it advisable not to speak to each other when they meet.

The S.L.P. is one of the Socialist groups who are always contending for the faith once delivered to the workers of the world by Karl Marx. Long before the formation of the S.L.P. we had Marxian exponents and societies in this country. Mr. H. M. Hyndman was one of the earliest and most authoritative writers on the economic principles of this German Socialist and the original S.D.F. (Social Democratic Federation) was based on *Dass Kapital*. But all through the history of British Socialism there have been Socialists who vigorously disputed the interpretation of Marx as adopted by the S.D.F. and other Marxian Socialists. This is also true of Socialism in America, where the exposition of Marxism by the American Socialist Party was challenged by Daniel de Leon, who emphasised the importance of industrial action, contending that, in accordance with the principles of Marx, the only sure way to political power was through the capture of economic power. In consequence of this schism the followers of de Leon formed the American Socialist Labour Party, the policy of which is Industrial Unionism. It was also out of this movement that the I.W.W. came into being at Chicago in 1905, Daniel de Leon being one of its founders along with W. D. Haywood. Later there was a split in the I.W.W. and de Leon and his colleagues formed a rival I.W.W. at Detroit. It is with the Detroit section of the I.W.W. that the S.L.P. of America and Great Britain is associated.

This division between the American Socialists tended to accentuate the differences already existing between the Socialist bodies in Great Britain. The advanced Marxists came to the conclusion that the political activities of the S.D.F. and the I.L.P. were utterly futile and only tended to secure *mere reforms*

within the present social system, whereas the complete overthrow and destruction of the system was the only legitimate aim of the genuine Marxist.

Marx and Engels had stated that all social and political institutions were but the reflex of the prevailing economic conditions and were designed solely to promote and maintain the interests of the class or classes who possessed economic power—the property-owning classes. According to this theory the exploited wage earners could only obtain political and other power by first securing economic control. And the way to get this economic power is, so the S.L.P. and I.W.W. claim, by beginning, as the Shop Stewards advise to-day, “at the point of production”—*i.e.*, in the workshops. Control all the industrial processes, and this control will eventually be reflected in the political sphere. The S.L.P. propaganda is based on this interpretation of Marx, and it aims at the formation of industrial unions in contradistinction to the present Trade and Craft Unions. The S.L.P., like the I.W.W., advocates one Union for each industry irrespective of craft, grade or sex. This new idea led the originators of the S.L.P. in Great Britain to repudiate all forms of political action. The State, being a product and an instrument of Capitalism, must be utterly destroyed, and this could be done with the greatest despatch if the workers would cease to dabble in politics and would concentrate all their energies on the creation of industrial unionism. The opposition of the S.L.P. to the Socialists who advocated political methods was so great that one frequently saw the meetings of the political Socialists interrupted, and in some cases broken up, by these industrial unionists of the S.L.P. One of the devices we have often seen was, directly a political Socialist had got a crowd together in a market place, for an S.L.P. speaker to commence an opposition meeting alongside the comrade who was preaching the false doctrine of political Socialism. It was the usual thing on such occasions for the S.L.P. man to describe the rival speaker as a “Fakir” and “a pseudo Socialist.”

But not all the members of this body of strict or particular Marxists could agree to this very rigid industrial policy. While accepting industrial or direct action as fundamental and of primary importance, some of the members believed that political methods, when properly subordinated to the policy of industrial unionism, might advantage the workers in their attempt to destroy the Capitalist State. The manner in which political power would be used by the industrial unions is described by the S.L.P. leader, W. Paul, in his recent book, *The State, Its*

Origin and Function. He writes :—“ It does not follow, however, that political action plays no part in the social revolution. We have already seen the special function of the State is to protect the interests of the ruling class. In order to facilitate the work of the industrial organisation it is absolutely imperative for the workers to disarm the capitalist class by wrenching from it its power over the political State. The State powers include the *armed forces* of the nation which may be turned against the revolutionary workers. The political weapon of labour, by destroying the capitalist control of the State, makes possible a peaceful social revolution. But in order to tear the State out of the grasp of the ruling class the workers’ political organisation must capture the political machinery of capitalism,” and, after quoting Daniel de Leon’s support of political action in the lecture on “ The Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World,” Mr. Paul concludes by saying :—“ It is, therefore, the special function of the political movement to uproot the Capitalist State. The work of the political weapon is purely *destructive*, to destroy the capitalist system.” Under the Industrial Democracy, foreshadowed by Paul, there will be no State.

As we shall have other opportunities of dealing more fully with these social theories, we will not pursue this question of political action. All we need now say is that these opinions caused a split in the S.L.P. The uncompromising industrialists found themselves in a minority, so they left the S.L.P. and now exist as a kind of mutual admiration society in Edinburgh. The main body continued the work of the society and moved its headquarters to Glasgow.

In our articles on the Rank and File movement we have mentioned the influence of the S.L.P. on the Clyde workers. It was out of the social science classes organised by W. Paul and other S.L.P. leaders that the Clyde Workers Committee and the Shop Stewards movement were evolved. Similar classes were later formed by Paul at Sheffield, Coventry, Birmingham, and Derby, the latter town being Paul’s place of residence until he was called up for military service, about a year ago, when he disappeared in order to evade the call. He writes articles and books during his exile, and no doubt he takes a keen interest in the direction of the rebel movement on the Clyde and elsewhere.

Though numerically a small body, the S.L.P. is very active and throws the whole of its influence into that side of the scale which makes for disruption and anti-patriotism.



A CATECHISM FOR DEFEATISTS.

The New Age (February 28th, 1918) has published a lucid series of 26 questions and answers dealing with certain aspects of the war and the reasons for and against its continuance. The questions are such as might be asked by a neutral democrat with a strong bias towards pacifism. The answers are those which such an inquirer would be compelled to arrive at if he honestly examined the facts of the case. The chilly indifference to patriotic fervour which characterises these answers is somewhat repellent to those of us who have a passionate belief in the righteousness of British ideals, but the cold-blooded method is not without its advantages, for it provides a basis for discussion that will not antagonise the most rabid anti-imperialist, the most microscopic of "little Englanders."

The following is a précis of the conclusions arrived at in the answers given by *The New Age* to questions collected from various Labour and Pacifist sources :

- (1) The positive and original object of Prussia was to exploit the Slav peoples for the purpose of dominating the world—the essential object of the Allies is to prevent such domination.
- (3) Europe is faced by a phenomenon of mentality hitherto outside the orbit of Western imagination. With *kultur* in one hand and a bomb in the other Prussia intends to civilise the world by force, and justifies the perpetration of any and every crime in the pursuit of that beneficent (?) object. Militarism lives on power and by power—it will yield only to superior force.
- (2) The menace of Prussian imperialism is real and (7) infinitely more dangerous to the future peace of the world than British imperialism has been in the past.
- (4) Germany's claim that she is fighting in self-defence is false, nor (5) is it true that she was denied legitimate expansion;
- (6) the liberty she is fighting for is liberty to impose her will on Europe.
- (8) If Europe succumbs now a fresh series of world wars is inevitable.
- (9) The present victory of Germany would be followed by the regular conquest of England. In the event of the war being drawn the need for defensive armaments would be increased tenfold.
- (10) The victory for which Prussia is fighting would secure her power over us, but (12) an Allied victory would merely secure us against German aggression.
- (11) The "secret" treaties, so adversely regarded in pacifist circles, are essentially defensive and not aggressive.
- (14) If Prussia wins she will be more convinced than ever that

militarism pays. An Allied victory would prove that militarism does not pay. (15) The length of the war will be determined when Prussia realises that ultimate victory is unattainable, or when the Allies are unwilling or unable to defend themselves. (16) Whether a military solution is possible can only be answered by the soldiers of the Allied nations, and failing a military solution nothing can save us except the democratisation of Germany from within. (17) A military deadlock would not necessarily discourage Prussia, who would begin to prepare for the "next time." (18) Everybody is sick of the war except the Prussian militarists, but that is no reason why we should surrender. (19) To compare defensive militarism at home with aggressive militarism in Prussia is to compare the householder with the burglar. (20) Democracy can only be won at home, but first of all it must be *preserved* in Flanders. (21) A diplomacy that rules out the sword against Prussia is as unjustifiable as a military policy that rules out the use of diplomacy. (22) A triumph or a draw for Prussia would postpone the democratisation of Germany *sine die*. (23) We cannot make a revolution for Germany. The Germans themselves must choose between making a democracy during the war or after a Prussian defeat—or never. (24) A popular revolt in England against continuing the war would penalise the innocent in the interests of the guilty. This method of appeal to German democracy has been tried on the largest possible scale with results disastrous to Russia and profitable to Germany. (25) A simultaneous strike by the working classes of all the belligerent countries would stop the war—for the time being—but not only is Labour not organised internationally, but it is not even fully organised nationally, and therefore cannot bring about simultaneous action. (26) Should the German people revolt against their Prussian militarists, the Allied Governments (in the opinion of *The New Age*) ought not to press the advantage which such an event would give them, because, as it is Prussian militarism that alone is the enemy, its overthrow from within would, in fact, terminate the war by removing its cause. It will be time enough to count these particular chickens when they are hatched.



THE RANK AND FILE MOVEMENT.

Part VII.

DURING the initial stages of the development of the Rank and File Movement the organisation concerned itself mainly with industrial questions of domestic application. To this period belong the agitations for solidarity (to be brought about by amalgamation and class consciousness), for the control of industry on the basis of the "Workshop for the Workers" (to be obtained by "direct action") and followed by the abolition of the wage system), and for a general policy of resistance to all Government measures that encroach upon complete personal liberty, such as the Military Service Act, the Munitions of War Act, and the Defence of the Realm Regulations.

But as time went on a subtle change manifested itself and the agitation took on a wider scope. At first the war was regarded by the Rank and File leaders, not as something to be opposed on its own demerits, but as something to be exploited in the interests of the movement. It was calculated that the Government were so deeply committed to the prosecution of the war that they could be brought to heel by the mere threat of "downing tools." In the event of the Government proving temporarily intractable, the threatened strike materialised with the results that class-consciousness was stimulated, the point at issue was conceded, the strike organisation was overhauled, and the prestige of the leaders enhanced. Meanwhile a *rapprochement* between the anti-war societies and the Syndicalists was growing apace and a definite stop-the-war policy began to take shape, and defeatism emerged as a primary object.

In order to understand the complicated cross currents which distracted rebel opinion in March and April, 1917, it must be remembered that the attitude of both the U.D.C. and the I.L.P. had hitherto been of unqualified hostility to Russia as the autocratic and imperialist State *par excellence*, and of adulatory commendation of President Wilson as the democratic champion of non-intervention. Their dearest objects were to get Russia out of the war, and to keep America neutral. Suddenly two bolts fell from the blue. The Tsar was deposed and America declared war. A drastic readjustment of ideas became necessary—American intervention was stigmatised as "the greatest crime that had been committed during the whole course of the war"—the United States was accused of financial greed and sordid self-seeking, and pacifists redoubled their efforts to secure a peace by negotiation before the striking force of

America could become operative. When the first accounts of the Russian revolution reached England the news was not received with any enthusiasm by the Defeatists. On the contrary, their hopes had centred, ever since M. Stürmer's elevation to the Premiership, on the Tsar being persuaded by his pro-German *entourage* to sign a separate peace. This, it was confidently believed, would be such a severe blow to the Entente that the war would be as good as over. When, therefore, it appeared as though the revolution had been brought about by the middle classes, and that its effect would be a more vigorous prosecution of the war by Russia, these hopes fell to zero. Gradually, however, the truth became known, and step by step, as the revolution proceeded to sap the strength of Russia and to strengthen the power of the proletariat so did its popularity grow, not only amongst the British pacifists, but also amongst British revolutionaries. The Rank and File Movement found a new enthusiasm, and men who formerly had been content with small game, such as a local strike or the baiting of a Trade Union official, became enamoured of great ambitions. Mass meetings at disturbed centres took on a different complexion, and in the place of hostility to unpopular rate fixers or works managers there arose a demand for revolution on a grand scale. Such expressions as "See what your brothers in Russia have done—taken Moscow in a single day," and others of similar import became increasingly frequent. This ferment was not confined to the ranks of the extremists, it began to work also among many unstable citizens and hitherto harmless visionaries. Nor is this to be wondered at. The influence which has restrained many rebels in this country from taking more than an academic interest in physical revolution has been the belief that Capitalism, Parliamentary Government and Monarchism were so firmly established in England that they could not be successfully attacked by the present generation. Events in Russia caused these people to take a very different view. If the greatest autocracy in the world, they argued, can collapse like a house of cards to the accompaniment of a chorus of approval in other lands, why should not similar happenings be brought about here? They did not stop to think that Russia revolted to gain what we already possess, and failed because she over-reached herself; they were just hypnotised by the glamour of the downfall of the ruling caste. "The miracle of miracles" has been accomplished, and the Red Flag hoisted over the palace of the Romanoffs. It will soon float over the castle of Charlottenburg; why should not the east wind carry the spirit of revolt across the

Channel? These were the dreams that turned theoretical Socialists and visionary anarchists into declared Republicans. They came to believe that, after all, there was something in their gospel, and that, after years spent in crying in the wilderness, they had suddenly been ushered into the arena of practical polities.

Sufficient has been said to indicate that in May, 1917, a general feeling of unrest pervaded many industrial centres, and it goes without saying that this unrest was the most pronounced in those districts which had been cultivated by professional agitators and in which Rank and File and so-called Amalgamation Committees had been established. At this time the engineering trades were mentally exercised over two industrial questions of immediate moment. These were the proposed abrogation of the Trade Card scheme and the suggested extension of the dilution of labour to private work. A number of resolutions were passed by Rank and File Committees of Shop Stewards at Sheffield, Barrow, Luton, Coventry, Erith, Crayford, Woolwich, Manchester, Glasgow, and other places, threatening "direct action" unless the Government gave way on both these questions. The first trouble to appear, however, was not arranged by, nor directly connected with, the Rank and File Movement; but arose over the unauthorised introduction of dilution on private work by an engineering firm in Rochdale. The official report on this dispute is well known, and it is generally admitted that the firm was technically in the wrong. There were, however, circumstances attending the strike and the reasons for the incorrect action taken by the employers that should be understood before the situation at Rochdale and its *sequelæ* can be correctly appraised. The head of the firm in question is a self-made man of a type not uncommon in Lancashire. Sam Tweedale began his career as a working mechanic, and by dint of hard work became the proprietor of a small engineering workshop which gradually expanded until it is now one of the most important concerns in the district. The firm has always been conspicuously free from labour disputes, an immunity said locally to be due to the success with which Mr. Tweedale maintained friendly and personal relations with his workers, in spite of his somewhat stubborn refusal to negotiate with Trade Union officials. The wages paid were always well over the standard rate for the district, the promotion of men of more than average ability was rapid, and the work turned out maintained a high level of output and quality. At the beginning of the war this Rochdale firm was one of the first private concerns to make shells for the Government, and was a pioneer in improving

upon old-fashioned methods of manufacture to the great advantage of all concerned. All went well until April, 1917. The shops were working at high pressure, and the output was steadily increasing at a time when munitions were badly needed. At this juncture a temporary shortage in the supply of material (which was supplied by the Government) occurred, and the firm either had to find some other work or put the factory on short time. As the latter alternative would mean throwing hands out of work, it was decided to put a number of women on to making certain articles—not to meet private orders—but for stock. By this expedient the firm were able to keep the machinery and the workers going at full time until a fresh supply of material arrived and the manufacture of munitions could be resumed. It was this employment of women on private work which caused all the trouble. The A.S.E. intervened and insisted on the letter of the law being kept—the engineers went out on strike, and their example was followed by thousands of others, first in the Manchester area, and then all over the country. We tell this story, not in order to justify the action of the firm in question, but as an object lesson which exhibits the futility of an industrial system which brings contented men out on strike over a technical triviality at a time of national emergency, at a loss to the workers, the employers and the State, when a little common sense and mutual toleration might have saved the situation.

We recognise the invaluable services which Trade Unionism has rendered to Labour, and we believe in collective bargaining; but, after all is said and done, Trade Unions were made for men, not *vice versa*, and we can conceive of no more wasteful or clumsy method of settling differences than that of the strike. It is obvious that a duly constituted Joint Standing Industrial Council, assisted by District and Works Committees as provided for in the Whitley report, would prevent disputes like that at Tweedale's from coming to a head and spreading all over the country. If, however, industrial peace cannot be secured by negotiation, let us at least fight with sensible weapons so that victory for either side shall not penalise the State, the consumer, the workers and the employers, besides creating bad blood and sowing the seeds of future trouble. Jeremy Bentham used to insist that pecuniary forfeits are the only sensible penalties for delinquency, and there is much to be said in favour of adopting some system of State imposed and State collected fines to take the place of the ruinous and childish expedient of the strike, which injures both parties to a dispute and advantages nobody in this world or the next.

FOOD FOR THOUGHT.

THE world crisis which surges to a head near Amiens has profoundly modified the situation at home. The magnitude and the insistence of the German peril is now realised more acutely than at any previous period, with the result that the gulf which separates patriots from defeatists is wider than ever. When real Labour thinks for itself a reaction against the extremists almost invariably occurs, and the present is one of those rare occasions on which the silent majority asserts itself. Consequently there have been several instances of such a turn in the tide during the crisis. Munition workers have foregone their Easter holiday, the threat of the Unofficial National Conference of Engineers to strike on April 6th, as a protest against the Government's man-power scheme, was withdrawn before that date, a strongly worded resolution condemning defeatism (and its spokesmen) was passed by the workers at the Royal Arsenal, and at many other industrial centres a similar spirit has become manifest. Whilst we cannot regard this most welcome revival with any feelings which do not combine thankfulness for the present with hope for the future, we should be as little justified in assuming that there will be no reaction, when the crisis is apparently abated, as we should be foolish to imagine that the defeatists are converted.



It is, in some respects, a fortunate occurrence that the annual meetings of the I.L.P. and the B.S.P. should have coincided with what may be the culminating point of the nation's ordeal, for we are thus afforded a contemporary index which should enable us to arrive at a fair estimate of the measure of responsibility and the sense of proportion which are cultivated by those bodies. The I.L.P. Conference at Leicester met under the chairmanship of Mr. Philip Snowden, M.P., and a full report of the proceedings will be found in the *Labour Leader* of April 4th. After congratulating the party on a membership increase amounting to 90 per cent. during the past nine months, Mr. Snowden said that the military situation on the Western Front made him indisposed to adopt the critical attitude. He succeeded in overcoming his not unnatural scruples, however, to an extent which emboldened him to declare that "the present British Government must go and in its fall will bring with it the equally impossible Government of France." He paid tribute to the "noble effort" made by the Pope and spoke

with sympathy of "the repeated peace overtures which have come from the Central Powers"; but for the Versailles Council he could find nothing but the bitterest condemnation. "The German answers to Versailles," said Mr. Snowden with a note of triumph born of his innate love of trying to prove that his own country is always in the wrong, "are the military peace imposed on Russia and the offensive on the Western Front." This phase received the applause of the assembled I.L.P. just as, in fact, it would have been greeted had the same words been addressed by a fire-eating Junker to a Berlin audience. Having described the military prospect as "more hopeless than ever," having dismissed the greatest battle in the world's history as "the passing phase of the moment," having referred to "the panic of a temporary situation," having accused the Allies of deserting Russia, and having thundered against "secret diplomacy" in approved fashion, Mr. Snowden announced his intention of voting constantly against the Government" on every issue concerned with the prosecution of the war."

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Mr. R. Smillie declared that it was the duty of the I.L.P. to create disaffection among the civilian population. Mr. A. E. Chandler urged that the party should not only oppose the appropriation of territories but should also protest against what is called "the restoring of order." The Conference demanded the immediate release of all conscientious objectors and also the enlargement of all interned persons, including enemy subjects, who had not been sentenced by a Court of Law. Mr. Walton Newbold expressed regret that congratulations were not offered to the Bolsheviks; but, as *The British Citizen* remarks, one resolution was *not* passed—or submitted. This was a resolution of congratulation to our heroes in France dying to save the Motherland from invasion by "our German friends."

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The annual Conference of the British Socialist Party opened at Leeds on March 31st under the chairmanship of Mr. F. Shaw of Huddersfield, who insisted that the war was the outcome of capitalism and that it had already yielded untold wealth to the owners of the means of production. "The B.S.P." declared Mr. Shaw, "wished success to the Bolsheviks and was in hearty sympathy *with their methods for the reorganisation of Russia.*" Mr. Fairchild said that the day would come when the workers would be forced to take hold of power by summary methods as had been done by the Russians, and Mr. W. McLaine added: "We should have recourse to every form of political action to achieve our aims, and we must not hesitate to use

force if that were necessary," whilst another speaker said that Socialists ought to take advantage of the discontent amongst engineers excited by the man-power proposals. The Conference passed a resolution welcoming the Rank and File movement and warning Labour against proposals tending towards the reconciliation of Capital and Labour, such as those embodied in the Whitley Report.

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The current number of *The Socialist* (the official organ of the S.L.P.) is entirely devoted to an attempt to persuade us that Armageddon is the direct and inevitable sequel of Capitalism and Imperialism. We are invited to "see how Britain entered the war for crude self-interest." With the object of throwing discredit on the Allies much play is made with the "secret treaties" which, according to Mr. Paul, are responsible both for the outbreak and for the continuance of hostilities. The supplement consists of a double sheet map of Europe, Africa and Western Asia on which the alleged Imperialistic war aims of the Allies are "exposed" by large scarlet patches. Why *The Socialist* should strive so laboriously and at so great an expense of time, space, and money, to misrepresent the truth in defiance of common sense and against an overwhelming mass of evidence to the contrary is a question that can only be answered in one way, which is that the S.L.P. is hopelessly and wilfully blind to any evidence which does not tend to support the Class-war.

There is no pretence of impartiality and the disclosures of Prince Lichnowsky, Herr Mühlon and others are not so much as mentioned, though all available records are diligently searched for any tit-bit that can possibly be dragged in to exhibit the Allies as aggressors. A map representing the war-aims of Prussia would be a simpler and a far more instructive picture, consisting, as it would, of two solid blocks of Prussian blue (the chemical basis of which colour, aptly enough, is a virulent poison), one showing "mittel" Europe and the other "mittel" Africa. Nor would this represent finality. Pan-Germanism will never be satisfied with any inundation, no matter how extensive, which allows an un-Kultured island to rear its head above the waste of an all-Teutonic flood.

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It is significant of the tortuous diplomacy favoured by the International fraternity that, whilst British defeatists are busy throwing dirt at their own country, a few Germans, of apparently much the same kidney, are exerting themselves to prove that Britain is innocent of any aggression against the Central

Empires. The *Mannheim Volksstimme*, for example, makes the following comment on the Lichnowsky revelations :—“ Of two theories only one is possible ; either Prince Lichnowsky is the most incurable idiot that ever sat in an Ambassador’s chair, or not a shred remains of the fiction that the war was due to English intrigue.”



The Conferences of the I.L.P. and the B.S.P. as well as the literature published by the S.L.P. are all redolent of internal squabbling, but we will not weary our readers with a recital of their mutual recriminations. On one point, however, solidarity is firmly established, and that point is hatred of the Government of the only country in the world which is quixotic enough to tolerate their absurd and extravagant outpourings.



It is important to remember that the present attitude of the I.L.P., like that of its international counterparts in other countries, is based upon a preconceived idea which, though modified from time to time in accordance with the exigencies of the moment, is not essentially the product of war weariness. The I.L.P. made up its mind three years ago to meet enemy delegates and Mr. Bruce Glasier (one of the representatives nominated to attend the Zimmerwald Conference), stated at Norwich in April, 1915, that the aim of the party was to organise an international meeting of Socialists from belligerent and neutral countries.



Lenin, whilst still at Geneva, during the first year of the war, wrote in his paper, *The Social Democrat* :—“ The defeat of the Franco-Russian-British alliance is preferable to an Austro-German defeat. I, and my party, are for the defeat of Russia.” It was largely due to Lenin’s influence that the declaration of war found Russia menaced by a general strike. There are people who still pretend to believe that Lenin is a patriot, but crows are never the whiter no matter how sedulously they may be washed by their brother defeatists.

The Hun view of Leninism is brutally frank, and this is what Herr Von Lahnen, formerly of the German Embassy in Paris, has to say on the subject. “ We shall work so that the subjects of the Allies will demand peace without indemnities. Disorganisation will then be possible, not only in Russia, but elsewhere ; five hundred Lenins will cost us less than a year of war. Between now and the autumn we shall have sown discord in every country.”

"We shall not hesitate to pocket our gains."—*Kölnische Zeitung*.



To turn to less depressing topics it is refreshing to welcome at least one converted pacifist into the fold. "I am still a pacifist," writes Mr. Henry Ford in the *New York World*—"that is, I want peace, but I am fighting like the devil to get it."



"Why is the Army so far superior to most commercial and industrial businesses? The secret does not lie in State employment. There is plenty of discontent and unrest among the State-employed railwaymen and munition workers. It is rather in the habit of mutual help and mutual trust. If any civilian employer of Labour wants to have willing workpeople, let them take a hint from the Army. Let him live with his workpeople and share all their dangers and discomforts. Let him take thought for their welfare before his own, and teach self-sacrifice by example. Let him put the good of the nation before all private interests, and those whom he commands will do for him anything that he asks."—Sir Walter Raleigh, in "*Some Gains of the War.*"



"The struggle between Capital and Labour will be less bitter when both sides think first of how they can help one another to an ampler and more human life, and how their joint activity can benefit the community as a whole."—*Round Table*, December 15th, 1917.



Miss Anna Munro gave some interesting statistics to the Southport branch of the National Union of Women Workers on the subject of the position of women in industry. She described how a gradual reduction of hours was accompanied by a steady increase of production. At first the hours were very long. "When there were eight hours the results were much better than when there were ten or twelve." Women working 60 hours a week dealt with 100 fuses an hour. Within six weeks, during which they worked 54 hours, they increased their output by 30 per cent. Six months later, when the hours had fallen to 45 per week, the output was increased by another 10 per cent. Improved results were also obtained from a six-day week than when Sunday work was the rule.



"Peace in Industry is not merely a condition, it is *the* paramount condition of industrial efficiency."—*The Organiser*.

No. IX

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“No business is entitled to make
unlimited profits.”

—*W. L. Hichens.*



INDUSTRIAL PEACE

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INDUSTRIAL PEACE

THE NEW "PEACE OFFENSIVE."

THE traditional attitude of the Parliamentary Labour Party has been to specialise on social and industrial questions in the domestic sphere and to intervene in foreign and colonial policy only when the interests of Labour were obviously and directly involved in the question of the hour. Organised Labour, outside the Parliamentary group, has been even more chary of meddling with imperial problems which they, unwisely as we think, have been wont to consider as no concern of theirs. Naturally the war has brought about great changes in this respect, but even now the man in the workshop is temperamen tally indifferent to, and largely ignorant of, affairs that lie outside the immediate needs and desires of himself and his family. But, if this is true of the average workman, the exact opposite is the case with those *soi-disant* "intellectual" leaders of militant Labour who dictate the policy of the I.L.P., U.D.C., S.L.P. and other Defeatist groups. At the present time a strongly concerted movement which the *Herald* calls "The Peace Offensive" is being engineered with great persistence throughout the country. The direction of this campaign apparently emanates from the Central Office of the U.D.C., which has organised a large number of meetings, at which Messrs. Charles Trevelyan, Arthur Ponsonby, Joseph King, Roden Buxton, Seymour Cocks, James Maxton, Pethick Lawrence and others have aired their views on War Aims, Peace by Negotiation, Internationalism and Pacifism. The outstanding and significant feature of this new peace offensive is a simultaneous effort to concentrate on the question of the "secret treaties" of the Allies as published by the Bolsheviks. This single point, which at first sight would seem to be of relatively small importance compared with the more imperative issues of the war, is continually and laboriously kept in the forefront of all lectures, speeches and written articles inspired by the arch-propagandists of Defeatism. Following the lead of the U.D.C. we find speakers at meetings held (ostensibly at any rate) under other auspices pursuing a similar line by implying, when not actually declaring, that the real obstacle

to peace resides in the aggressive policy of the Allies. This note predominated at the Lansdowne conferences (February 25th and March 6th), at the gathering of the International Christian Brotherhood and at the meeting of the Free Church League for Women's Suffrage (March 14th), at which latter Mr. Lees Smith, Mr. Jerome K. Jerome and Mr. A. G. Gardiner seemed to find pleasure in suggesting that the hands of the Allied Governments are not clean. To less sophisticated people the display of dirt that soils the paws of the Prussian wolf is sufficiently glaring to make a microscopic search for blemishes on her victims seem like a work of supererogation.

Taking their cue from the "intellectual" Pacifists the Syndicalists are devoting much attention to war aims, and a special Conference of Shop Stewards and Workers' Committees met at Manchester on April 13th and 14th to draft a programme more in accordance with the extremist point of view than the war aims officially endorsed by the Labour Party. It is in the columns of the Defeatist press,* however, that the new peace offensive is being prosecuted with the greatest vigour. The *Labour Leader*, the *Call*, the *Herald*, *Common Sense*, the *Socialist* and many other publications with Defeatist views analyse and "expose," in season and out of season, the alleged imperialistic and capitalistic enormities of the Allies with so rich a faculty for finding fault, so industrious a capacity for imputing evil, that no space remains for such trivialities as getting on with the war and saving the world from the domination of Prussia. In the April number of *INDUSTRIAL PEACE* we mentioned a map published by the *Socialist* and purporting to exhibit the aggressive war aims of the Allies, as disclosed in the secret treaties. We called attention to the somewhat remarkable fact that the entire contents of the newspaper in question were devoted exclusively to this one subject, but we made no comment on the even more remarkable series of calculated misrepresentations which disfigure this "splendid and specially prepared" map and signalise it as perhaps the most unique example of deceptive cartography ever perpetrated.

The letterpress which accompanies this pictorial tergiversation of the truth strives to prove by quotations from selected diplomatic documents that the war was brought about by the rapacity of greedy capitalists lustng after Nabor's vineyards.

* The Union of Democratic Control has recently published a book called *The Secret Treaties and Understandings*, by F. Seymour Cocks, with a preface by Mr. Charles Trevelyan; and the National Labour Press has issued a pamphlet on *The Secret Agreements*, with a preface by Mr. C. Roden Buxton. The first named publication was described by Mr. Arthur Balfour in the House of Commons as inaccurate and misleading.

The impression intended to be conveyed is that the portions of the map coloured red indicate the precise areas which the much advertised "secret treaties" propose to alienate from their present rightful owners. To begin with, the evidence adduced consists very largely, not of treaties properly so-called, but of ambassadorial notes which, at the most, represent the maximum demands put forward by diplomatists as a basis for negotiations, against the counter demands which the Central Powers might be expected to advance. No distinction is made on the map between the acknowledged claim of France to Alsace-Lorraine and the suggested creation of an autonomous and neutral State on the left bank of the Rhine, although everybody knows that, whilst the first of these propositions is passionately embraced by the vast majority of the French nation, the second would not prolong the war for a single day. Indeed, M. Thomas, a member of the French Government, declared recently that, even in the event of the German legions being driven back to Berlin itself, France would claim nothing beyond her lost provinces. Doubtless diplomatists are sometimes tempted to anticipate inevitable compromises by asking for more than they expect to receive. Nor have they a monopoly of this human failing. Even Trade Unionists, with an eye on Sir George Askwith partiality for bisection, have been known to demand wage increases calculated on a basis which will admit of an expected 50 per cent. reduction.

If, however, it is reprehensible to put forward a maximum claim in view of anticipated compromise, what adjective should be applied to a morality which fakes a map with the object of creating prejudice against our Allies by misrepresenting the areas which are said to be claimed under the peasant secret treaties? This question may well be answered in words which we adapt from page 64 of the copy of the *Socialist* containing the fake, and say that the map reveals the depths to which its author "can descend in his endeavour to trick the working class of the world." Our space will not admit of an exhaustive analysis of the *modus operandi* employed, but the following examples are typically deceptive. The treaty of April 26th, 1915, conveys to Italy, amongst other acquisitions, "the district of Trentino; the entire Southern Tyrol up to its natural geographical frontier, which is the Brenner Pass." This area is depicted on the *Socialist War Map* by a block of colour of approximately the correct area, but the distances from the neighbouring cities of Milan and Venice to the nearest point of Austrian territory, which in reality are 70 and 50 miles respectively, are reduced in the map under discussion to 30 miles

in the case of Milan and to 25 miles in the case of Venice. Similarly the distance which separates Berne from Lago di Garda is minimised some 30 per cent. Consequently the coloured area is made to appear relatively greater than it actually is by the compression of the surrounding mileage. Moreover, no mention is made in the text of the fact that the territory claimed is part of "Italia Irredenta," inhabited mainly by people who were Romanised two thousand years ago, who have never ceased to protest against Austrian domination and whose mother tongue is Italian. "Italy," wrote Napoleon, "is bounded by the Alps and the sea; her natural limits are defined with as much precision as though she were an island."

By Article 5 of the same treaty Italy receives "the province of Dalmatia in its present frontiers," and other defined areas in that region, but, as drawn in the *Socialist War Map*, the Italian claim extends inland from Zara to a depth of 77 miles. Now the entire width of Dalmatia, from Zara to the frontier, is only 57 miles from west to east in a straight line, and therefore Italy is represented as demanding a large slice of Bosnian territory and of seeking to advance to within 130 miles of Belgrade, whereas her actual claim in that direction terminates 215 miles from the Serbian capital.

The distortion of the alleged claims of Rumania is conceived on an equally generous scale, and again, apparently, the device is employed of reducing the distances between the principal places in the neighbouring States. Thus we find the following "adjustments" in the *Socialist War Map* :—

Actual distance—

Lemberg to Budapest ...	... 282	miles, shown as 255 miles.
Prague to Lemberg ...	... 430	„ „ 370 „
Vienna to Kronstadt ...	... 475	„ „ 345 „
Cracow to Bukarest ...	... 488	„ „ 395 „
Lemberg to Belgrade ...	... 386	„ „ 313 „
Budapest to Bukarest	... 400	„ „ 300 „
Constantinople to Budapest ...	660	„ „ 490 „
Rome to Bukarest ...	710	„ „ 512 „

The net result of all these manipulations of the scale is to make it appear that Rumania seeks to advance her frontier to within about 50 miles of Budapest and to lay claim to the rich Hungarian plains of the Puzta region, whereas her real aspirations in that direction do not extend beyond Transylvania, which is inhabited by her compatriots. Even if it is pretended

that Rumania covets all the territory up to the Theiss River,* there still remains a wide discrepancy between the truth and its pictorial representation. Examples of similar adjustments and manipulations could be multiplied, but we have said enough to exhibit the remarkable elasticity of distances when they are juggled with by the expert hand of the mapmaker employed by the Socialist Labour Press. Of a truth we, as a nation, are fearfully and wonderfully made ; we are fighting for our lives with our backs to the wall, yet we suffer the friends of the enemy, living in our midst, to attempt to depress our morale. There is a serious shortage of paper for legitimate and necessary purposes, yet we allow fifty thousand copies of this precious farrago of dangerous nonsense to be printed and distributed.

If any of our readers are disposed to ask why the leaders of Defeatism should be at such pains to misrepresent the war aims of the Allies, we would answer that nothing is so important, from their point of view, as to break down the belief of the working classes in the righteousness of our cause. The Defeatist leaders are fully aware that Internationalism cannot thrive unless the patriotic spirit languishes, they know that Pacifism will not make much headway so long as the people believe that the Allies are in the right and Germany in the wrong, and they calculate that the class war can be prosecuted with the greatest hope of success by persuading the masses that the war and all its sacrifices are the direct outcome of the capitalistic system. It is on these lines that the new peace offensive is being waged, and as time goes on we shall witness the development of a sustained effort to undermine Britain's determination to win the war. Various methods will be tried to achieve this object, but the chief plan of campaign will be to ring the changes on that quite unnecessary yet demoralising question, "What are we fighting for ?"

* (b) The allegation that Rumania has demanded all territory east of the Theiss River appears to hang on the text of an agreement prepared in August, 1916, giving satisfaction to Rumania's claim to *Transylvania up to the Theiss*. But the Rumanian demand, as formulated by M. Bratiano in 1915, fixed the proposed western frontier as running from the confluence of the Danube and the Theiss to a point opposite Szegedin (at the junction of the Theiss and Maros rivers) and thence to the Carpathians *on a line drawn past Debreczen*. This town of Debreczen is 125 miles east of Budapest and 34 miles from the nearest point on the Theiss river; so it will be seen, therefore, that there is no possible justification for representing the proposed frontier of Greater Rumania as approaching to within 50 miles of Budapest.

Mr. Buxton's pamphlet referred to in note (a) also contains a map which represents the claims of Rumania as extending up to the Theiss River throughout a course from the north of the Bukovina to the Danube. Incidentally, it may be remarked, such a river would have to climb the Carpathians *en route*.



PASTORAL FUNCTIONS OF MANAGEMENT.

Working Men's Investments.

GIVEN the will and the time and the money, or whichever of these or whatever combination of them may really be essential, a man will ordinarily get or do what he has set his mind on and with little delay. But in the odd cases the essentials of action may be there and yet some accident, some spasm of doubt, some trivial ignorance, some unawareness of the trick of the thing that dogs the outsider, may bring a plan to nought. The insider, whatever may be the kind of priority which gives him his advantage, knows how to set about a thing, or else he knows someone who can put him at once in the way of knowledge. In virtue of being an insider he has something of an instinct for what is sensible and safe. He is prepared, too, to trust other insiders to a degree that the outsider thinks very reckless or perhaps takes as evidence of an understanding that verges on conspiracy.

There is a measure of exaggeration, of course, in dividing men, even in reference to any specific affair, and much more in dividing them without qualification into insiders and outsiders. But let us make the distinction, misleading and harsh as it may sound, and then try to correct or cure it. Let us say outright that the insiders are the brain-workers, the professional classes or callings—and the merely rich will have, for certain purposes, to be lumped in with them—and that the outsiders are the unprofessional classes or crafts, whose manual work calls for dexterity rather than ability, and, normally, prejudices their chance of cultivating whatever talents, apart, for example, from hammering power, nature has given them.

The professional classes are insiders in very important respects. They share a great mass of common knowledge and experience. Their standards of conduct are fairly uniform. Their mode of education promotes solidarity. The nature of their work stimulates thought and conversation, which powerfully unify the most diverse types of men. If you are an insider you know more people and in more significant connections and more educatively than if your circumstances are of the other sort. If you are a good insider and of some seniority, you have the universal "open sesame," not in the merely social sense, but as admitting you to whatever penetralia the temple of a people's work may boast of. Education, responsi-

bility and brainwork create a state within the State, an epitome of the conditions that give much of its worth and weight to life.

This inner state is not an unmixed good. From its existence and influence, even when it is relatively honest and effective, there springs, to be sure, a solid proportion of the problems of modern life. Because it is successful it is envied. Its unity and its *esprit de corps* excite suspicion. It is peculiarly open to the temptations of power and opportunity. It is sometimes driven and sometimes seduced into making itself a very close corporation.

The cure for the opposition of insiders and outsiders is to turn more men into insiders. This is a very long process in most matters, though a short one in others. It is mostly a matter of education. No one can get "in" but by learning things, whether these things are the unavoidable elements of business or professional work or leisure interests. But let us say no more here about education, which is notoriously the pivot of all reforms and itself the most refractory field in which anyone may attempt reform. Mr. Herbert Fisher is understood to have projects in hand. These have the sympathy of the nation and the support of Parliament, which maintains a benevolent boycott of educational discussions.

The point of this paper is that in the disposal of their savings the working men are finding themselves outsiders and that the employers ought to help them to come "inside."

For the men have money to invest. Their war-time extravagances, loudly trumpeted in certain quarters, have ceased, if they ever went very far. Whether it is pianos or sealskins or bangles you soon reach the point when you have enough. It is difficult nowadays to be immoderate in food or drink. While the channels of expenditure are greatly restricted the level of wages still leaves many men and many households a substantial surplus.

It is true that the various forms of war loan have the first claim on every citizen's savings. But will anyone blame the men if they wish, for one thing, to spread their money, and, for another, to place some of it in stocks that fluctuate on the market? In the past the bookmaker has been too often the working man's stockbroker, partly, no doubt, because the available sums were small, but also because of the absence of counter-attractions. At the present moment, with more money in his pocket and with less inclination to gamble, the working man is curiously at a loss where to place his money. He distrusts stockbrokers and lawyers in general. He is naturally diffident about submitting his modest problems to a banker.

He is unacquainted, most probably, with a single member of these professions. His embarrassment ought to be the employer's opportunity. It is true that many firms accept money at interest from their employees, and they usually give good terms. No employer, again, would refuse to refer a workman direct to a bank or to a broker of good repute. But what many of the men wish and need is wise advice from a wider point of view, and friendly help and interest at the hands of those members of the professional classes of whom they see something daily and whom they are inclined to trust. These are their employers.

"Savings and Investments" ought to be a recognised department in every large establishment. It ought to have as specialised a staff set apart for it as, for example, "Sales" or "Costing." In most works there is some member of the managing group whom the men regard as specially their friend, towards whom their desire for personal advice or sympathy gravitates. Very probably he himself may know little about investments. But he has one essential in his favour—the men's confidence. Let him be given an office and a title and let him be put in touch with those who can advise him well. Let him also be free to help a man at a pinch with a loan. Such duties are of the essence of those pastoral and friendly functions which industry, developing very rapidly on the commercial and technical sides, has been too busy to foster. The cost of organising and running a Savings Department need not be prohibitive. The work would not be whole time, and it would fit in with other functions that form part of the same general conception. The results, both moral and economic, of such a scheme would abundantly, we may fairly hope, repay the trouble and the money it might cost.



NATIONAL GUILDS (I).

[*NOTE.—The following is the first of a series of articles on National Guilds which it is proposed to publish at intervals. Our regular readers are already familiar with the general views of INDUSTRIAL PEACE with regard to this movement. To new readers, however, it may be advisable to explain that, whilst keeping an open mind on the question of the practicability of Guild Socialism in the future, we are far from advocating any drastic reversal of the wage system in this country during the war, and have no sort of sympathy with the irreconcilable attitude which has been taken up by Messrs. G. H. D. Cole, W. N. Ewer, and others in opposition to the recommendations of the Whitley Report. The policy of Guild Socialism, so long as it remains under the control of the above-mentioned individuals, has been described over their joint signatures (in the " Nation " of March 16th, 1918) as being definitely revolutionary in object—such object being " the abolition of capitalism and the wage system." They declare that " all its detailed and immediate work is directed solely to the prosecution of that class-war aim, and in no way to the securing of reforms for making tolerable the existing order." They claim to be " revolutionary in purpose and, for the time being, reformist in tactics" ; they declare that they are " out for ' la victoire integrale ' and nothing less," and they explain that for the present they are " conducting a war of attrition and of preparation." There are, however, standards by which a movement can be judged other than those which are advertised by determined controversialists, and it is partly for that reason that the following articles have been written.]*

THE course of the war has witnessed an extraordinary upgrowth of enthusiasms, of which some are practical, constructive and tending towards salvation ; others idealistic, disruptive and leading to the abyss. Of the first kind are the cessation of political strife, the nationalisation of railways, docks, and factories, the rationing of food and clothing, the acknowledgement of the right of the State to command the property and the services of its citizens, and compulsory military service. The sum of all these movements in State Socialism places the whole energy of individuals at the service of a vast hierarchy of officials, in order to achieve in the immediate future victory in war and, in the years that follow, the rebuilding of the material wealth which the war has destroyed. Some of those who have entered into this movement regard it as essentially abnormal and its conditions as temporary ; others look upon it as the basis of a permanent reconstruction of society ; but this difference is without immediate importance. Another group of movements has its root in class hatred, visionary conceptions

of a humanity without national barriers, and the greed of taking possession of other men's goods ; their sum may fairly be expressed in the term Syndicalism, as denoting a system by which the workers in each particular trade, by the strike threat, will have society at its mercy, and will ultimately destroy both its neighbours and itself. If these two groups of movements could be sharply divided, then Britain would be divided into good and bad citizens ; and many observers in their hearts and in their everyday conversation do so divide it. Inaccurately and unjustly ; for, in fact, the individual man is constantly passing from one state of sentiment to another. "We are all Socialists now," says the practical statesman ; and this is true enough of our public professions and our hours of exaltation ; but the police courts reveal quite another picture. There is not a class of society, not a profession or trade, which is not in part using the war for selfish and anti-social purposes ; and though each man throws the blame most eagerly at the section of society which is most remote from his own experience, yet if he were absolutely honest he would recognise the mischief in his own neighbours and possibly in his own heart. What is true of individuals is true also of organised movements, professional cliques, and Trade Union combinations. The moralist finds the good uppermost at one moment and at the next the evil ; and this is perhaps particularly true of the subject of the present series of articles, the National Guilds movement. If any critic sets out to write its history in the spirit of the detective, he will be able to bring damning evidence against it from its own records ; whilst its advocates, convinced of their own good intentions and of the wickedness of the rest of the world, will be equally surprised and resentful at the attack. The present writer disowns all intention of interfering in any such quarrel ; to him the National Guilds movement is a social ideal, somewhat delicately balanced between good and evil, and capable of growing into either according to the soil from which it may draw its nutriment. His purpose is to examine whether this ideal may possibly become the basis for a healthy new growth of social activity after the fever of present warlike and revolutionary fervour passes away. He does not seek to win converts for it or to organise enemies against it ; but recognising it as a forceful conception which, in fact, appeals to many thousands of his countrymen, is anxious to enquire whether it is possible to grant them the boon they desire, and whether in the end it will prove to its worshippers a blessing or a curse.

Those who are attracted by a peaceful and historical development of social forces will be disposed to condemn the movement

off-hand. They will point to its kinship on the one hand with the great communistic experiments of the nineteenth century, of which every one has ended in disastrous failure ; on the other hand, with the present Bolshevik movement in Russia, which (they will say) is leading the Russian people through crime to famine. It is impossible to deny the force of these instances ; but it may perhaps be urged that from other movements, equally irrational and unpromising in their origin, there have sprung great religions or inspiring institutions. The truth appears to be that men in the mass are not moved by facts, but by abstractions ; not by experience, but by the passion for experiment. In the wake of the enthusiast follows the practical man, to the sonorous phrase is attached the common-sense comment, and out of a world of dreamers, too, there may emerge the thrifty and prosperous community.

The main features of the National Guilds movement, as at present understood, may be briefly described as consisting in the application of the theory of pure democracy to industrial life. The workmen in a shop or factory are to be free and equal masters—they will control the shop through the delegates that they appoint and can at any moment dismiss. The delegates from like shops, first in the same locality and afterwards in the whole country, meet together and appoint officials of higher rank, until ultimately the whole of an industry, such as coal-mining or engineering, is integrated or organised from below. But the highest trade official remains without power over the lower grades—he is essentially *servus servorum*, a delegate ever ready to receive instructions and to recite with submission the claims of the individual workman. The sole incentive to work is that natural creative impulse which, it is alleged, operates in every human breast when it is not crushed out by the oppression of a master ; the only limitation to pay is the instinctive reasonableness of the human artist. You may, if you please, sum up this theory by saying that “Jack is always to have his own way, even when he does not know what it is.” Perhaps so ; but human nature is various, and there are really men who work when they please and can get any pay they like to ask for (for instance, bishops and comedians) who are nevertheless pillars of society even as at present constituted. If the picture drawn is fanciful, it contains nevertheless some grains of truth. It is the aspiration of men who as a class have been born in cramped surroundings and have risen to supreme power to realise in their individual lives all that they have fancied those who once were their superiors to possess. It is the transfiguration of the very real though limited powers of the Trade Union into those of the social magician.

This idealism, which in the present writer's opinion everywhere underlies the propaganda of the movement, is transmuted by the professed advocates of the system into severely practical details. It will, therefore, be right to give here some account of these advocates. All are members of the middle class who are in revolt against their own neighbours. Their experience may have informed them that the boyhood of their fellows has been spent in a rather severe mental and corporal discipline, that their early manhood is limited by anxiety and celibacy, and that their maturity is wrapped up in a constant solicitude for the security of the wife and children for whom they feel a responsibility extending beyond the probable limit of their lives. Of this picture no word appears in their writings, which are dominated by the figure of the idealised working man, virtuous and oppressed, who there fills the place which the "simple savage" occupied in the works of Rousseau. Dr. W. J. Prenty, in his *Restoration of the Guild System*, was the forerunner of the new system. Mr. A. R. Orage, the editor of the *New Age*, in his innumerable articles in that journal and in the book, *National Guilds* (edited, but not written by him), has given it definite shape, and is still its most energetic advocate; Mr. J. A. Hobson, in *Guilds in Peace and War*, has developed its economic side; and Mr. G. H. D. Cole, by his fiery and self-confident personality, has recommended it to a larger audience. Other books are now in course of production; and there exists a "National Guilds League," with many local branches, which carries on an active propaganda, which helps to keep alive the spirit of the revolt amongst Trade Unions and Shop Stewards' Groups which might otherwise be slumbering. To these writers readers shall be referred who seek to obtain a first-hand view of the movement as a whole. Here it is only necessary to say that the Guilds as foreshadowed as being from 12 to 20 in number, based on the larger Trade Unions, are overriding the existing distinctions of craft between the more and less skilled workers. Thus the miners, the engineers, the shipbuilders, the potters, the agriculturists, and the transport workers are each destined to form themselves into a Guild, whilst other workers under some less obvious classification will associate themselves in similar numbers. Each Guild will regulate for itself the conditions of its work and pay, and will be responsible for the maintenance and education of all its members, whether actually in employment or not. But the Guild system differentiates itself from Syndicalism by definitely recognising the State and allowing it a supreme control. Thus the State finally fixes the price of each product, arranges for its transfer from the members of one Guild to those of

another, disposes of the "surplus wealth" which each Guild is expected to produce, and (possibly) may continue to maintain an army and defend its frontiers. With the younger members of the school, however, the State tends to become more shadowy and to be identified with an "Association of Consumers," the powers of which are not to rest upon bayonet or bludgeon, but only on an appeal to that "innate reasonableness" to which we have before referred. In any case the final constitution of society is summed up in two large congresses, one elected by trade, the other by local constituencies; in fact, by a glorified Trades Union Congress and a democratised House of Commons.

The name "Guild Socialism" is still in frequent use, but it can hardly be contended that the conceptions of State Socialism, or the "equalitarian" society, are any longer dominant in the system. The upper and middle classes are not granted admission into it; they simply disappear, whether by way of the lamp-post or otherwise we are not exactly informed. Nor is the new "pay" which is to replace old "wages" to be evenly spread through all social grades. The more practical writers, indeed, advocate an approximate equality; the more passionate do not waste their sympathy on those poor specimens of the working class who have been guilty of co-operating with their employers, but point out the rich spoils which are now within the reach of the strongly organised trade unionist, if only he has the daring to seize them. In all these points the Guild system occupies an historical position exactly between State Socialism and Syndicalism, and its latest exponents draw continually closer to the latter system.

If the experienced employer looks in vain in the system for any sufficient recognition of such principles as thrift, discipline, scientific control and enterprise, all of which he feels to be essential to industrial success, he can at least recognise others which he has assisted in propagating in the political sphere, without perhaps foreseeing that in time they must react on social life. The system proclaims loudly that the average man is all-wise; that instinct is a better guide than reason; that representation makes government superfluous; and that the whole past experience of mankind counts for nothing as against the fashionable phrase of to-day, even though it has no particular meaning. The baron, the bishop and the squire have long ago been sent about their business, and now the capitalist is asked to dismiss himself also. Since he is unwilling to go, he must be allowed to state his case; but he must expect to hear from the Guildsman a reply which will be somewhat disconcerting. We reserve this controversy for the next article.



WELFARE WORK :

Its Value from the Employer's Point of View.

THE term is an unhappy one, partly because, like so many other intrinsically good things, the fatuities committed in its name have in the minds of many become inseparable from the movement itself, and partly because the scope and aim of the work in the past have been so limited and trivial compared with its present conception, and with its future development, that there is need for a new term to describe what amounts to a new idea.

What is Welfare Work ? Its essence may be said to lie in the careful study of labour in all its aspects so as to secure the employment of particular labour under the best possible conditions that can be obtained without detriment to labour in general. A concise definition of Welfare Work is hard to come by, and the above broad statement, though vague, comprehends the many aspects of the work which could be included in a detailed description. Our present object is primarily to demonstrate the value of Welfare Work as a business asset, to convince the hesitating and sceptical employer of labour that such work is really as vital to complete business efficiency as the chief engineer is to the engineering shop. The work was originally, and still is, conceived as a movement towards better conditions of labour, and it is possible that a shortsighted employer will say that his business is to secure production of wealth, and that the conditions of its production are secured, from the workers' point of view, by factory legislation and Trade Union action. The consideration of just two points will serve to indicate briefly that Welfare Work itself is nevertheless of primary importance to the employer, since he can only hope to hold his position in the future by making full and economical use of each agent of production in frictionless co-operation. And a little further study of the question will show that that share in the securing of good conditions which is understood by Welfare Work is not merely the good employer's conception of his duty to his workers as fellow citizens, but an essential part of completely successful management which cannot be adequately performed either by Trade Unions or by legislation. In the first place, Welfare Work was introduced by the employer and has developed as the product of his experience. It is obviously, therefore, at least not incompatible with commercial

prosperity. The motives for its introduction have doubtless been many and varied, but in every case, before determining particular interests, the employer must and does consider the conditions essential to the success of the whole enterprise. In the second place, the broad definition of Welfare Work already given implies that as an agent of production labour will yield the highest possible return to the capital employed. No one to-day disputes the assertion that good conditions contribute to good results all round. Good health and contentment arising from adequate nutrition, pleasant workshop and canteen conditions and enlightened interest in the work itself are conditions inseparable from complete efficiency. And it is equally true that until the best possible conditions are reached increased efficiency is the inevitable concomitant of improved conditions.

Admitting, then, that it is to the advantage of the employer to employ labour under the best possible conditions, the question naturally arises, is so-called Welfare Work the best and most adequate means of securing such conditions? In the present system, and most probably in any possible system, we think it undoubtedly is. Owing to the scale and complexity of modern business enterprise, involving fine specialisation and constant devolution of function, each party to an undertaking is compelled to concentrate almost exclusively upon his particular aspect of the question. The directors and managers are concerned with general policy and the intricate study of the world market and its future relation to the product of their present enterprise; the works manager is occupied with questions of output, factory and labour costs and returns, and a multiplicity of duties, many of which must devolve upon his special assistants, such, for example, as the chief engineer, who sees that machinery and power are economically adjusted for use to their fullest capacity, and the foreman, who economises the labour employed by careful co-ordination and arrangement of operations. It may be added that the Trade Union official is concerned with securing minimum conditions for labour, and that thus, though every party may concentrate upon his particular problem, yet the interests of one and all are represented. This is true, but it is the particular work of the welfare department to make itself familiar with the views, claims and requirements of each interest represented in the undertaking, and dispassionately to lay before the employer the exact relation of specific claims or suggested alterations in existing conditions to the particular enterprise and to labour and management in general. The welfare worker

is specially qualified to work in this capacity of intermediary because, by the nature of his appointment, his views are un-specialised, unbiased, detached, general. He is engaged by the management to ensure that the workers are performing their duties under the best possible conditions. He knows that the employment of labour at all depends upon the enterprise yielding the current rate of return to capital and management as well as to labour, and he knows equally well that the productivity of labour varies directly with conditions conduced to vigorous and well-directed effort. It is his business to foresee possible causes of friction and to facilitate their elimination by lucid and timely exposition, firstly, of their existence, and, secondly, of their avoidance. It is part of his work to anticipate the demands and to interpret the views of labour to the employer so that reasonable claims may be met without the delay and friction due so often to lack of understanding, causing immediate reduction of output and a further widening of the gulf of suspicion and distrust between the individual worker and his employer and between labour and management in general. It follows that the successful welfare worker must be a man or woman well versed in the economies of industry, in industrial legislation, in the general tenets of Trade Unionism, and in the special requirements of the local Trade Unions which concern his particular industry.

So far we have considered only the general aspect of Welfare Work. The achievement of the broad aim, however, demands more than the scientific judgment of the unbiased observer based upon a wide knowledge of social and industrial history and present conditions. The real necessity for the employment of a specially qualified worker to deal uniquely with the well-being of the workers, or with the proper handling of the human element in industry, lies in the fact that here we are dealing with a factor which cannot be exactly calculated, a factor which is susceptible to a thousand modifications, and which is never just the same in any two places. Labour, the element in production which needs the most careful, varied and individual handling, is just the one which has so far received the least possible attention. It has been left to itself on the assumptions that the absence of complaints is the proof of contentment and that men are well able to look after themselves. But just as the passenger who boards an Atlantic liner cannot determine the details of his voyage, the speed at which he will travel and the ports at which he will call, so the individual employee is powerless to determine the conditions of his labour in the complex organisation of large scale industry. Organised

labour has secured minimum conditions by the force of association ; factory legislation has determined "conditions below which population shall not decline" ; the rest is dependent upon the grace of the enlightened employer. It is unnecessary to point out the limitations of existing machinery dealing with minimum conditions for labour *en masse*. Labour is a complex of individualities. It is not a mathematical aggregate which will always produce the same results if equal quantities are added or subtracted, or whatever the arrangement of its parts. The welfare worker is engaged by the employer to secure efficiency by looking after the human interests of his particular workers. It is part of his work to study the psychology of the labour world in general, and of the individual workers in his care ; to note the effect of particular environmental conditions upon individual workers, and to use his judgment and influence throughout the works in securing those conditions for each worker which will conduce to the best work of which he or she is capable.

It is not within our purpose to enumerate the duties of the welfare worker, nor to demonstrate the value of the work from the employee's point of view. These different aspects could only be dealt with adequately in a very much longer article. Here we are concerned only with the value of the work from the employer's point of view. Enough has been said to suggest that Welfare Work, properly understood, is likely to be a strong conciliatory force in industry, a reliable means of obtaining useful records, a quick and sensitive indicator of general feeling finding local expression in particular works. No stress has been laid upon that aspect of the work which is indicated in those definitions of Welfare Work which emphasise the *duty* of the employer to his employees in the matter of good conditions. Arguments of justice and humanity will appeal, no doubt, to the majority, but the general argument of business efficiency must appeal to *every* man engaged in commercial enterprise. The welfare worker is essential to complete efficiency, and because the essential value of his work lies in his freedom from the bias inevitably resulting from personal interest or from continued contact with only one side of a question, neither Shop Stewards nor Workshop Committees of the type advocated in the Whitley Report can adequately fill his office. Such institutions can, and doubtless will, contribute their share to much that is understood by Welfare Work, but the specially trained and appointed welfare worker will prove as indispensable to self-governed labour as to autocratic management.



CORRUPT WELT-POLITIK.

The Peaceful Penetration of France by Germany before the War.

It would require many volumes to describe the innumerable cases of German intrusion into French industrial and commercial circles. By making use of two powerful means—the easy naturalisation of German subjects, and the perfect system of information placed at their disposal by the Schimmelpfeng Institute—they were able to enter into the country as into a place already surrendered by the enemy within.

The Germans were, moreover, thorough in the organisation of the commercial conquest of France. In less than twenty years they managed to get hold of some of the most important avenues of French life, political, military and industrial. They had a finger in enterprises which were connected with national defence as well as in those which controlled the economic life of the country. Take, for instance, the road transport which they tried to monopolise by starting the "Messageries Départementales par Automobiles" for the purpose of getting hold of a vital part of the transport system in time of war.

The names of the directors of that society would have put on their guard any Government not blinded by peaceful dreams. Messrs. Blumenthal, Zouckermann and Bauml could not be all Alsatians, and, even if French by naturalisation or by accident of birth, were certainly not of French origin. It is rather extraordinary that out of five services which they attempted to exploit in one department, the Charente Inférieure, two started from a great naval base, Rochefort (one terminating in the estuary of the Gironde, near the fort of Royan), and a third followed the sea-coast, passing quite near the port of La Pallice, which is an important station for submarines. The patriotism of the Conseil General of the Charente Inférieure defeated the tenacious efforts of these pioneers of German industry by refusing concessions for the establishment of that network of alien controlled transport. But the society was, unfortunately, more successful in other regions, and even succeeded in obtaining from the State and from several of the local authorities yearly grants which reached many thousands of pounds.

The question of aerial transport also aroused great interest in the German capitalist. Sometime before the war the Germans awoke to the importance of using aeroplanes as scouts, and they centred all their attention on the problem of the application of wireless telegraphy to flying machines. The French War Office also realised the part that aeroplanes, pro-

vided with wireless apparatus, would play on the future battle-field, and the French Government gave a big order for the equipment of the principal wireless stations, *e.g.*, the Eiffel Tower, the stations of Bordeaux, Ajaccio, Dakar and Tangier, to the Compagnie Générale Radio-Télégraphique, which was using a German patent invented by a German of the name of Lepel.

It is rather strange that France, who gave to the world the real inventor of wireless telegraphy, the illustrious Branly, should have to adopt a German machine which might necessitate in case of repairs the presence of German mechanics.

The most important point of this affair was, however, that the manager of the Compagnie Générale Radio-Télégraphique had a seat on the Board of the Compagnie Universelle de Télégraphic et de Téléphonie sans fil, and made no secret of his intention of fostering the amalgamation of the smaller concern with the great and powerful Compagnie Universelle. On paper, the last-named society was, for all intents and purposes, a French limited company. Its object was to organise the commercial exploitation of radio-telegraphic communications at great distances, and especially Transatlantic communications, through the medium of the high frequency apparatus invented by Professor Rudolf Goldschmidt. Now let us see how this French company was administered. On the board sat three or four well-known Frenchmen of perfect respectability, who occupied great situations in French official life. With them were three well-known financiers : MM. Lazare Weiller and Marcel Bloch, both French, but endowed with foreign names, and M. Emile Cohn, a real German from Berlin. Three more of the directors were frankly either Germans or Austrians : M. Julius Drucker, a rich industrial from Brünn (Austria), M. Robert Held, director of the Lorenz Company of Berlin, and M. Curt Sobernheim, director of the Commerz und Disconto Bank of Berlin.

The capital of the Compagnie Universelle was 10,000,000 frs., out of which more than half had been subscribed by the Commerz und Disconto Bank. In other words, that powerful German bank controlled the Compagnie Universelle, and so, quite naturally, its director was offered the post of vice-president, for it would have been a little too obvious if the chairmanship of that French company had been given to a pure German. But why, we may ask, had the Disconto Bank taken such a practical interest in that French society ? At that time wireless companies were in the early stage of experiment, and offered more inducement to Governments who could afford to spend money, in view of useful results to be obtained for the defence of the country, than to individuals who hoped

to turn them into prosperous commercial undertakings. The importance to Germany of having the control of an enterprise which might one day be of national value to France in time of war is evident. And once more we have a definite illustration of what German pacific penetration meant before 1914.

But, through her many friends in France, Germany had a thousand other ways of insinuating her products into the complex machinery which was vital to the economic life of a hated rival. Let us take as a vivid illustration of Germany's successful conquest of French industry the story of the machine oil made by the German firm of Stern-Sonneborn for the Grands Moulins de Corbeil, managed, of course, by a naturalised German. This man, Lucien Baumann by name, had waited until he was 48 years of age to remember that he was born an Alsatian before 1870, which meant that he had assumed German nationality at the time of his military service in Germany. At an age when he was only liable to light service in the territorial force Baumann claimed his reintegration in the French army and citizenship, and this only because it was in the interests of his commercial activity. That same oil, if we are to believe the laudatory reports from the Grands Moulins de Corbeil, was the best oil on the market. It was equally appreciated, *O mirabile monstrum*, by the French War Office, which adopted it exclusively for the motor transport of the French Army. In a circular issued by the firm of Stern-Sonneborn the great tribute to the value of its commodity paid by the French Minister of War was duly mentioned, and the German company added, proudly, that after a severe trial, both technical and practical, 32 competitors had been eliminated and the Sternoline-Ossaj oil alone accepted by the French experts who conducted the investigations. As a patriotic French paper, the *Mois Automobile*, took occasion to enquire, what would happen in time of war if the French Society of Stern-Sonneborn were to run short of its stock of oil through not receiving its regular supply from the manufacturing headquarters situated at Hamburg? What, further, would happen if for any reason that German oil were to lose some of its essential qualities and did not fulfil in the time of war its promises of the time of peace?

Once more we remark the curious coincidence which gathers on the board of a French company directors bearing the names of MM. Maurice Baer, Isidore Brauen, Paul Berliner, Joseph Stern, J. Sonneborn! What a characteristic "Conseil d'Administration" for the French branch of a Hamburg firm! This same combine was the sole purveyor of the military arsenal of Tulle and of the Préfecture de la Seine. Another

detail is also to be noted carefully, in view of the economic war which will certainly follow the present military struggle. At that time it was well known in commercial circles that the firm, Stern and Sonneborn, consented, in most cases, to a heavy rebate on their average prices. In this way they tried to cut out of their own market the French makers of machine oil, and if this disloyal competition had been allowed to go on a few years longer they would most likely have succeeded in obtaining the monopoly of that speciality in France.

But let us see what was happening in Germany. While the naïve and confident French Government was opening its workshops, military and naval, to the commercial travellers of the supposed French company of Sonneborn, the German Government, realising fully the national importance of motor transports, of the Zeppelins and of internal combustion engines, decided that it would itself manufacture all the motor fuel necessary for the use of motors in the Army and the Navy. Georges Prade, in *Le Journal*, wrote on this subject that the German Government had just approved the plan of new works, which would be State property and supplied by the Government with all the coal necessary for a minimum production of 30 million litres of benzol a year. Thus, in contrast to the culpable indifference displayed by the French authorities, all the carburant required by the German Army was to be produced in Germany by the German State. And Georges Prade ended his article by putting the following question to the French Government: "What are we going to do in France?" Léon Daudet replied in his sarcastic way: "My dear colleague, the answer is quite simple: we are going to grant to a German company the exclusive privilege of supplying the French Army with the carburant required by all our motors." Happily for us the campaigns of those good patriots, Léon Daudet and Georges Prade, roused the French Government out of its slumber, and at least this one grave danger was avoided in time, but only just in time.

Incredible as the above instances of the hold obtained by Germany in almost every department of French activity may seem, the fact that the attention of the French public was ineffectually drawn to these circumstances, more than a year before the war, is more incredible still. It can only be explained by the circumstance that for the past forty years the secret agents of Germany have worked unceasingly to narcotise and enfeeble the national spirit in France. In this task they were helped by the crowd of financiers, German in name and origin, who created in various circles of Paris society that atmosphere

of cosmopolitan corruption which was so vividly reflected in the plays of Henry Bernstein. Another element which also contributed to the success of German propaganda was the wide dissemination of socialistic and international ideas, which tended to abolish all notions of duty, either towards the country or towards its sacred institutions, and only proclaimed the rights of the masses to a self-indulgence leading to anarchy and Bolshevism.

The programme of these foolish or criminal leaders who placed the privileges of democracy above everything could be summed up thus : no military obligations, no real family responsibility, no restraint of any kind in public or private life, no superiors, no inferiors, no masters, no servants, no hierarchy, but instead an infamous equality which levelled the world from the top to the bottom, and which had for motto : "More money and less work."

These ideals were the evil seed of German sowing, and had they grown up would have finally stifled France under the weight of their pernicious vegetation. But Germany, who had her spies and agitators in every class of society, who was represented in the Capitalist group as well as in the Fédération Générale du Travail, took good care that the same internationalism, pacifism and humanitarian diseases should never be allowed to spread and prosper on her own soil. There was no room in that well-organised state for the new religion, whose gospel is a vague worship of a vague humanity based on the doctrine of "Do as you please, and never mind the consequences." When the war broke out for our salvation, France and also England were being diligently evangelised by the missionaries of that new faith, so excellent for exportation, and which has since met with such success in Russia. It has been truly said that our most faithful friends and allies are really the Germans, who are clever in their own interest up to a point, but who always come to our assistance at the psychological minute by suddenly making a fresh blunder.

It is a poor tribute to the wisdom of our statesmen, but we must be grateful that the German race, which is possessed of so many qualities, is entirely lacking in common sense and cannot understand the mentality of any other nation. Having corrupted the minds and souls of a handful of French and of English, the Germans thought they had vitiated both nations, and that it would be as easy to conquer these crumbling rivals as it has been for their propaganda to seduce and ruin the weak and ignorant Russians.

We, too, have stood on the brink of that precipice. Let us never forget it.

PAYMENT BY RESULTS.

THE articles on "Payment by Results" in the January and March numbers of INDUSTRIAL PEACE have led to further discussion of the points at issue between the authors of these papers. The writer of the January article remarks that in his endeavour to indicate a broad principle he may have omitted details which would have made his meaning clearer, and proceeds to develop his argument as follows :

" As to restricted output, the very basis of the scheme is that the output should be planned ahead and the designed output attained. The idea of turning out the maximum production per annum without having a clear idea as to what that production is going to be and what is to become of it is not likely to have much scope in post-war industry if indeed absolute chaos is to be avoided. There are many reasons for such a statement, but the certainty of gigantic sales costs under such a policy, and the many attendant evils which would certainly arise, are perhaps sufficient. But even that is not the point. As time goes on and methods improve, oncost, or overhead charges, must, apart from basic material cost, quite inevitably be the major portion of production cost ; these charges frequently represent 150 per cent. of direct labour cost, and will probably double in the next ten years. That means, of course, that the amount paid in labour per unit is decreasingly important, but the plant-time is increasingly so.

" If your contributor will apply the statistics now available on industrial output in relation to hours worked to their relationship with plant-time per unit I think he will see the point, and I feel certain he will also be able to devise a method by which a decreased plant-time can be turned to account when, and not before, it is achieved. If not, I shall be pleased to suggest one.

" Although any question of qualifications is quite beside the point, I may add that I earned my living both in England and America by production on piece-work, and since then have tried all sorts of payments by results on the most unlikely sort of jobs, many of them non-repetition, with quite average success. As I have suggested very briefly in my article, the conclusion I have reached is that they do not, as usually applied, deal with a sufficient number of the factors of the problem to form a broad basis for industrial contentment, very largely because they disregard the interconnection of industry and the

peculiar workings of our monetary system. While I admit freely that the Premium Bonus system has done excellent service during the past twenty years, and that it does offer a working solution of rate-fixing difficulties, etc., in many cases, I do not quite see why it is any more likely to forward the cause of Industrial Peace now than during its very generous probation."

The author of the March article maintains his defence of the Premium Bonus system, which he believes will give better all-round results than can otherwise be obtained, provided always that the system he advocates is applied with generosity and intelligence. He says :

" It certainly is the case that the condition it was sought to establish in the original article, headed ' Payment by Results,' was not described in detail, and there may be some misunderstanding on this head ; but it does appear to be clear that the system suggested contemplates limiting the output of the individual workman to the amount that can be done by one selected to set the pace (in a normal period), and that in that way output from each individual workman would be alike in quantity.

" This is certainly working on entirely wrong lines. Workmen are not alike either in capacity or quality. It is unfair, therefore, and must lead to discontent if all receive the same earnings—a condition which can only come about by restriction of output on the part of the more efficient, whether that restriction is open, as provided for in the scheme advocated, or secret, as is usually the case.

" In the writer's judgment, if it is necessary, as is claimed, to avoid making too much, the proper way to limit production is to reduce the number of workmen, and so also the number of machines employed ; but each workman should give of his best and be paid accordingly.

" The value of the statement made on the relation of labour to plant-time is entirely dependent on the extent to which fatigue plays a part in the reduction of output during the last working hours of the day. If, as is probably the case, a continued and equal rate of output can be obtained, it becomes obvious that if the working day is reduced restriction of output is in effect established. It is not admitted that under such conditions plant-time per unit is a factor of consequence.

" Too much value need not be put upon statements of industrial fatigue and its relation to machine output, and it certainly is of little use to advocate theories without considering them in relation to practical application. It must be conceded,

for instance, that with most industries it is essential that work in a factory for all individuals concerned should commence at the same starting time and finish at the same stopping time—*i.e.*, output should go on uninterruptedly during fixed periods of working hours.

“As to the actual application of the principle of payment by results, the writer is aware that there are cases where the plan proposed is adopted ; but while admitting that in some instances it may be practicable, it cannot be maintained that the possibilities of the scheme can be held to be general in their application.

“With regard to the Premium Bonus System, no scheme is free from difficulties. All that is claimed is that a fair and generous application of the Premium system is more likely to meet requirements than any other system put forward. Moreover, we shall be much nearer securing industrial peace when the workmen realise that no system can be perfect in its application, and the only likely method of obtaining the desired result is to adopt a system and cope with difficulties associated with its working as they arise ; but these difficulties will certainly occur, and they can best be dealt with by the appointment of a recognised staff in the works for dealing with appeals after hearing the workman’s side of the case.

“Industrial peace cannot be secured by limiting the output of a workman to some assessed amount per day and whatever his skill and capacity withholding him from exceeding that amount. Such a condition of things would very largely have the effect of destroying all ambition on the part of the good man by bringing him down to the level of the indifferent.

“It must be realised that in the ultimate result the wealth of a country is dependent on the output of its citizens, and the welfare of the worker is as much involved in securing this at its best as is the welfare of all those who go to make up the Commonwealth. To put forward a system that is based upon production per individual brought to the level of a slow worker cannot possibly be a satisfactory means of dealing with the situation.”

To this communication the writer of the first article replies as follows :—

“I am sorry to see, as I suspected, that your correspondent has completely misapprehended my suggestion, the responsibility for which, no doubt, rests with me in the main, although I confess I do not see how he manages to read into my article ‘that the system suggested contemplates limiting the output of the individual workman to the amount that can be done by

one selected to set the pace' (paragraph 1) or that, by implication, it is 'a system based on production per individual brought to the level of the slow worker.'

"It is quite clear to me, however, that where the divergence of opinion occurs is in paragraph 3 of your correspondent's reply.

"To crystallise as far as possible this difference, in the hope that it will explain the idea suggested in my article, I will state the case categorically:—

"(1) 'Ca'canny' is an abomination.

"(2) Output per unit of *time* should be a maximum.

"(3) Unlimited total production is simply not good business.

"(4) The national interest, in its widest sense, demands that everyone should have stable employment of some sort, but that production cost per unit shall be a minimum.

"(5) It is quite possible to obtain a 'peak' efficiency for a short time much greater than the average efficiency over, say, eight hours, *if you set out to obtain it*.

"(6) Therefore, use all your available labour, but make the conditions such that it shall go full out on the programme laid down. Since in most cases you manufacture to a price and you have a definite programme, you have just so much total money you can afford to pay away in wages; therefore offer decreased time as an incentive to work on the peak. The decreased time can only be attained by higher efficiency; therefore you are in a position to take on a larger programme for the next period if the conditions demand it, dispose of more money in wages, raise your purchasing power, and so on.

"Your correspondent's contention that the wealth of a country is dependent on output is only true if you define output. A country which had no output but coal would be in a very different position in fifty years' time to that of a country which exported an equal value in energy from water power, to give a very simple instance."

Whilst it is clear that our contributors are, to some extent, at cross purposes, the discussion has brought to light many questions which some of our readers will be interested to think out for themselves.



FOOD FOR THOUGHT.

LORD HALDANE'S address delivered recently under the auspices of the W.E.A. at Coventry may be described not unfairly as the putting of new wine into old bottles. Both being good after their kind, there is reason to hope (when the wine is a little more mature and the bottles reinforced) that this combination of the modern and the antique may prove a success. Much that Lord Haldane said in April, 1918, was formulated in other words by St. Simon a hundred years ago ; but there is this great difference : It is not enough that schemes of reform should be sound, they must be workable, and the lessons of the past ought to teach us that nothing but the careful hand of experience, tentatively and very patiently exercised, can ever succeed in solving the intricate problem of the reorganisation of Society.

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St. Simon enunciated the principle that such reorganisation should proceed with a view to the needs of industry (which, after all said and done, is society's main business), rather than with a view, as in the past, to the needs of war as the normal condition. He foresaw the ultimate disappearance of the aristocratic, military and sacerdotal castes and foretold that their places would be taken by the chiefs of production. He imagined that Government would be conducted in future by the leaders of industry, who would be drawn from all classes on the sole qualification of personal ability. Both St. Simon and Lord Haldane insist upon the obvious rider—viz., that ignorance is the one condition that makes progress on these lines absolutely impossible. The future of Democracy demands that the right to health, the right to labour and the right to knowledge should be guaranteed by the State to every man and every woman. These fundamental rights being assured the work of reconstruction can proceed on a sure basis and every improvement in machinery, every development of natural resources, can be employed to the fullest advantage.

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In this connection Lord Haldane told his audience some interesting facts elicited by the Committee on the National Coal Resources. It appears that at the present time we are using eighty million tons of coal in the year to supply power for our industries, but that if we took the coal at the pit head

and converted its energy into electricity we could do the same amount of work with less than a third of the quantity and save the expense of distribution into the bargain. This development alone would bring a six-hour day for labour within the range of practical politics—provided always that workmen are well educated and prepared to abandon any idea of restricting output by “ca’canny,” “slow gear,” or similar methods.



Mr. Horatio Bottomley is a sportsman. His war record has been beyond reproach—he has backed our fighting men through thick and thin and he has done yeoman’s service in heartening the would-be “quitters.” To what malign influence then can we attribute his recent lapse into the ranks of backbiters of the baser sort? In *John Bull* of April 27th he attacks the political chief of the Army before he has had time to get into his stride and essays to spread a feeling of discontent amongst soldiers at the greatest crisis in the war. He revives the old slanders against Lord Milner, whom he describes as bearing “the Teutonic taint,” and brings the specific charge that “his forebears elected to sink British identity and merge all their fortunes in the land of the Hun.”

As we have said, Mr. Bottomley is a sportsman, and we are confident that on this occasion he must, in sporting parlance, have been “nobbled.” We are only a trifle less confident that he will take an early opportunity of acquainting himself with the facts and make the *amende honorable* to a public servant, who, as Mr. Bottomley must be aware, cannot afford to waste his energies in refuting personal calumnies engineered by political wirepullers.



What, then, are the real facts concerning Lord Milner’s parentage and upbringing? The family, as far as can be traced for over 200 years, has been British until the time of Lord Milner’s grandfather, who lived at Patricroft Hall, near Manchester. In middle life this Englishman went to Germany on business and there he married a German lady, Sophia von Rappart. He never lost his British nationality and never even learned to speak German. A son of this marriage was Dr. Charles Milner, M.D., who practised as a physician in Chelsea, and married Mary Irene Ready, daughter of Major-General Ready, Governor of the Isle of Man.

In Reginald Blount’s “Recollections of Old Chelsea” mention is made of Dr. Milner as a well known member of the literary and artistic circle which made Chelsea its headquarters in the sixties. He was also an open-air man, never happier

than when out with his gun and his dogs. An enthusiastic volunteer, he became a sergeant-instructor for musketry and was once in the running for the Queen's Prize at Wimbledon. Having to give up his medical practice on account of ill health, he tried to revive his father's once-flourishing business in Manchester, but the attempt was not a financial success, and subsequently he obtained an appointment as teacher of English at a German university. Far from "sinking his British identity," he paid the foreigner's tax, levied on non-Germans, and was debarred from promotion to a professorship at the university where he was teaching as he would not consent to renounce his British citizenship. His son, Alfred, the present Viscount Milner, received his early education under his father's direction, partly at St. Peter's School, Eaton Square, and partly in Germany, and after passing through King's College, London, and Balliol College, Oxford, was called to the English Bar.

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Lord Milner's public record in Egypt, South Africa, and at home is too well known to need recounting in these pages. He has been described as the sanest man in British politics, and if he has made enemies by his uncompromising adherence to certain principles, he has earned the devoted loyalty of those who have been privileged to work with or for him. Indifferent to self-advancement and shunning self-advertisement, he has lived laborious days devoting his talents and energies to one great cause—the stability of the British Empire. There are many who disagree with his views, and we do not question their sincerity and honesty, but it is permissible, perhaps, to venture on a broad generalisation and to say that amongst Lord Milner's opponents may be found a large proportion of those who have consistently supported a policy of unpreparedness and Little Englandism, and that amongst his adherents may be counted the most resolute champions of a stable British Empire.

Think it over, Mr. Bottomley; your reference to "a sinister and almost secret figure in our public life" is second-rate journalism and third-rate taste. Compare Lord Milner's record with that of others which you will have no difficulty in calling to mind and don't allow yourself to be made the cat's paw of designing mischief-makers at a time when the only hope of defeating the German menace lies in the solidarity of Britain.

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Mr. Sam Bradley (District Secretary of the A.S.E.), who specialises in the cultivation of the young on rebel lines, took

the chair at the inaugural meeting of the Amalgamated Apprentices' Association at Gravesend on April 20th. Mr. Bradley found occasion to remark that "if there were places where an eruption was required, it was in dockyard centres." At the same meeting Brother Edwards (chairman of the London District A.S.E.) was good enough to say that he had no antagonism to the returned soldier, whilst Brother West (of Erith) urged that they must go deeper than the apprentice system, they must begin with the children of five years of age, "and it would not be until that was done that the working class would lose its chains."

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The light-headed fanatics who profess to be indifferent as to whether they live under a British Constitutional Monarchy or under a Prussian Military Autocracy are recommended to look up the Kaiser's speech in 1910, when he referred to the Socialists as "Vaterlandsloses Gesindel" (rabble without country) and in which he threatened to smash anybody who dared to stand in his way ("zerschmettern wer sich in meinen Weg stellt.").

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Count Westarp, speaking in the Reichstag on April 18th, in favour of unrestricted submarine warfare, said that "a large number of U-boats *would be useful at the conclusion of peace.*" To this sinister threat there are two answers: the first is the British seaman's boycott (which we believe now stands at 5 years and 2 months), and the second is a goodly store of depth charges.

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The importance of "labels" is often underestimated, and a bad name has caused the death of many a good dog. Propaganda has been described as "the dissemination to the many of the knowledge of the few," but its usefulness will be hampered until somebody can find a less unpleasant and less clumsy title.

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The Recommendations of the Whitley Report have been accepted by the Admiralty and will be put into force in the Royal Dockyards without delay. The Federation of Master Printers has been in consultation with the Printing Trades Federated Unions and we understand that the joint committee formed by these two bodies have agreed upon the basis of a "betterment" scheme for the promotion of improved working conditions in the printing trade. These experiments in industrial Home Rule are steps in the right direction and the results will be watched with interest.

It has often been denied, in the face of many indications to the contrary, that the Rank and File Movement is Germanophil in its sympathies. *The Globe*, April 18th, has unearthed an interesting story which bears upon this point and which is instructive if not edifying. It appears that Mr. W. Howell, the Erith district secretary (A.S.E.), accompanied by Mr. A. B. Swales, a member of the Executive Committee, visited a number of Germans interned at Hackney, and made them a present of money, subscribed presumably by British workmen, for the purchase of luxuries. According to Mr. Howell, these Germans are "as nice a body of men as you could wish to meet," and the Erith district secretary is careful to inform the readers of his circular letter that these enemy internees are receiving the "full district rate of wages." As *The Globe* remarks, we have yet to learn that German Trade Unionists go out of their way to secure full district rates for British prisoners at Ruhleben. In returning thanks for this "unexpected gift," F. Brackman, the spokesman of the interned Germans, expresses the hope that he and his fellows will "soon be able to join in the fight that matters." This phrase is on a par with the cynical attitude of the Rank and File organ, *Solidarity*, which, in answer to a correspondent who referred to events in Flanders, said: "Frankly, this war has begun to bore us terribly," and advised its readers to waste neither time nor energy on anything that might interfere with the prosecution of that more important pursuit, the Class War.



It was this same Mr. Howell who signed the circular letters which were sent out broadcast a year ago on the eve of the May strikes in the engineering industry and we presume that it was this same Mr. Swales who was so actively engaged in organisation at the same time and whose views were so highly commended by a not too well informed correspondent of the *Daily Mail*.



The San Stefano Syndicate, to which reference was made during the "Bonnet Rouge" enquiry in Paris, is a German enterprise whose ostensible object is to form a casino on the Bosphorus after the Monte Carlo model. Apparently, however, games other than those of pure chance are included in the programme, and we do not suppose that Bolo, Caillaux, d'Almereyda, Duval, the Bolshevik Schneur or Herr Marx of Mannheim would be likely to join the "cercle" in order to play either roulette or trente et quarante.

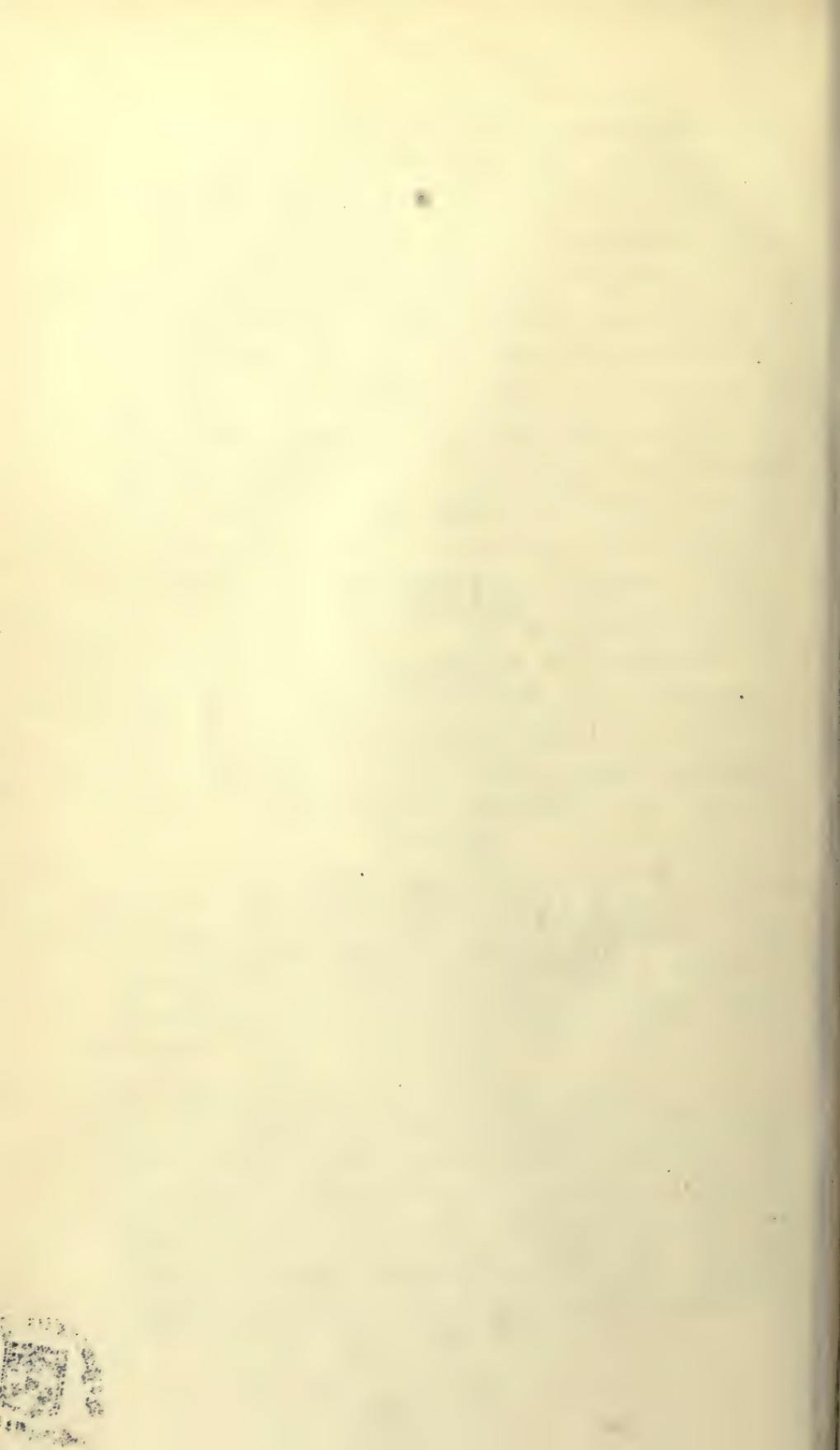
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“Be at once a powerful people
and a family of happy men.”

—*Victor Hugo.*



INDUSTRIAL PEACE

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INDUSTRIAL PEACE

THE AIMS OF THE LABOUR PARTY.

THE Draft Report on the General Policy of the Labour Party on "Reconstruction" has not received the attention it deserves. Everybody who takes an interest in the future (and who does not?) would do well to acquaint himself with at least the general drift of the argument in "Labour and the New Social Order" which is printed as an Appendix to Mr. Arthur Henderson's pamphlet on *The Aims of Labour*. We are not concerned for the moment with Mr. Henderson's interpretation of the portents which, with the coming of peace, will confront Society; but we hold it to be a matter of the first importance that men of all parties should make up their minds as quickly as possible as to the broad lines of principle which they intend to pursue when the all-absorbing preoccupations of war-time give place to the urgent problems of Reconstruction.

Whatever the future may have in store, one thing is certain. The old edifice has disappeared, never to return. Unless the foundations of the new building are laid with the best foresight of which we are capable it will be but a ramshackle affair which will collapse at the first shock—and shocks will not be long in coming. The political parties which used to be called "great" have both joined the ranks of the "late lamented," and, though there are rumours of this or that fusion, nobody can make a reliable forecast of the ultimate issue. Radicals and Tories will, no doubt, again respond to the bias which has influenced them so obliquely in the past, and there will be no lack of manœuvres, the object of which will be to angle for the support of Democracy, but these diversions are not going to repair the ravages of the war, nor make for national stability.

Who can describe the general policy of any combination of forces that may be called upon to govern Britain when the imminence of the German peril is no longer the dominant appeal? What line of action, other than that of mere opportunism, is intended by any statesman, any group of statesmen, with regard to the social and industrial problems which will clamour for immediate solution on the day that peace is declared? There is one party which has formulated a policy, and their programme, whether we like it or not, has this to commend it to our notice: the proposals of the Labour Party proceed from definite principles consistently held by a coherent school of political thought, and

their resulting programme, good, bad, or indifferent, is published as an open challenge to the rest of the nation.

It would be the height of folly to ignore this challenge or to assume that, because organised Labour has been of little account in the political past, it will be impotent in the political future. We have no intention of speculating upon the probable number of Parliamentary seats which the Labour Party will win at the General Election, for that temporary index is a most unreliable guide ; but it is abundantly clear to all who take the trouble to study the question that, during the war, Democracy has arrived at man's estate and that with the extension of the franchise, the demobilisation of the Army and the resettlement of industry, Labour, with a very big L, will no longer be content to fill the rôle of spectator, but will insist upon taking the field with a strong team against all comers. Surely, therefore, it behoves us, whether we wish to support the Labour Party or to withstand it, to lose no time in studying the programme which it now publishes.

There is nothing of the milk-and-water school about this programme. Its policy is essentially a fighting one, and claims are advanced which, if carried into effect, will drastically alter the whole fabric of Society. It is outside our immediate province to criticise the " aims of Labour " as laid down in the memorandum under discussion, and we are far from admitting that they represent the views of the majority of the working-class population, but we again insist upon the essential point that we cannot afford to be ignorant of proposals which constitute a definite and an acute departure from the traditional course of social development in the United Kingdom.

For fuller details we refer our readers to the text of the memorandum and will here only indicate the general trend of the policy which it promulgates. The Four Pillars of the House that the Labour Party proposes to erect are declared to be :—

- (a) The Universal Enforcement of the National Minimum,
- (b) The Democratic Control of Industry,
- (c) The Revolution in National Finance, and
- (d) The Surplus Wealth for the Common Good.

Under the first heading are grouped the Legislative Regulation of Employment by the improvement and extension of existing measures such as the Minimum Wage Act, the Workmen's Compensation Act, the Coal Mines (Minimum Wage) Act, the Legal Wage clauses of the new Corn Law and the Trade Boards Act. The lowest statutory base line for the least skilled adult workers, men or women, in any occupation, in all parts of the United

Kingdom is declared to be a minimum wage of 30s. a week. Other matters dealt with in this section include the Organisation of Demobilisation, and State Insurance against Unemployment.

Under the heading of The Democratic Control of Industry, the elimination of the private capitalists, individual or joint stock, is called for, and the reorganisation of the nation's industry on the basis of the Common Ownership of the Means of Production is insisted upon. This leads up to the demand for the immediate nationalisation of railways, mines, and electrical power plant. The Life Assurance Companies are to be expropriated, the entire manufacture and retailing of alcoholic drink is to be transferred from private to public hands, and local option is to be introduced. Services of common utility—e.g., distribution of coal and supply of milk—are to be municipalised, provided that the monopoly of co-operative societies is not interfered with. The centralised purchase and distribution of raw materials is indicated, and the retail prices of household commodities are to be controlled in the interest of the small household—a measure which, it is calculated, will prove very attractive to the woman elector.

Under the heading of The Revolution in National Finance all proposals for a Protective Tariff are repudiated—indirect taxation on commodities, whether by customs or by excise, is to be confined to luxuries. The revenue is to be raised by the direct taxation of incomes above the necessary cost of family maintenance up to 16s. or even 19s. in the £ on the highest scale, and the National Debt is to be reduced by the Conscription of Wealth. Under the heading of The Surplus Wealth for the Common Good we find that any surplus that may remain is to be used for the provision of community capital, the care of the sick, the infirm, and the aged, the education of the children and adults, and the promotion of research, music, literature, and the fine arts.

Perhaps this brief summary does less than justice to the aims of Labour, which, though crude and one-sided in some respects, self-contradictory and impracticable in others, appear to be inspired to a large extent by a genuine desire for the greatest happiness of the greatest number. For our part, we should have more confidence in the programme if the Sub-Committee of the Executive of the Labour Party, which was responsible for its drafting, included no members who have publicly espoused the causes of defeatism and class-warfare.



A HUNDRED YEARS AGO.

A HUNDRED years ago the working classes of England were sunk in the very depths of misery. Whoever seemed likely to benefit from their country's triumphant emergence from the Napoleonic wars, it was not they. Economists, indeed, while they opened up dazzling vistas of prosperity for the kingdom as it captured more and more of the world's markets, hardly looked on labourers and artisans as sentient members of society ; in the eyes of such experts they were but pawns of that great operation—trade, machines with but one function—work.

On the land, the policy of enclosure, with other economic factors, had worked little short of an agrarian revolution. Their share in the common-lands gone, the rural population had declined almost to the level of hired serfs. And such wages ! They must have been paid less than three half-crowns of our money a week. The fact that part of the wage was paid in food might not have been altogether a misfortune, if provisions had not been doled out by the parish. The parish was a ring fence round the labourer ; it was always fretting him and spying on him. “ *Ascriptus glebæ* ” was only too literally his plight.

There were worse phases of labour than that under the squire. Agricultural workers might be subject to servile conditions and live in wretched hovels, but their routine took them largely into the open air. Others had no such luck. What enclosure had done for rustic ownership, machinery had done for the cottage industries. Arkwright's genius had killed the hand-loom and sent hordes of once self-supporting craftsmen into the new smoky town. There toil never ceased in factories where sanitary rules were of the most primitive, even when observed, where unfenced machinery involved a succession of accidents, where meals meant no change of atmosphere, where children cried out under flogging and went in terror of being late for the morning's work. Whole families had to slave in these ill-ventilated prison-houses to make sure of a livelihood. Women were absorbed by the inhuman system. Children went to work when nine years old or earlier, with hours that might range from twelve upwards ; parents, as we know, from the melancholy reports of Commissions, had often to drag their little ones from bed and beat them to the task which might entail more beating. And at the end of the week the family might be done out of a portion of its scanty earnings and have forced on it high-priced food at the truck-shop.

In the mines we are introduced to even lower stages of the Inferno. Think what such a statement as this means : " Before 1814 it was not usual to hold inquests on miners killed by accidents in mines." But let us go on. Every day women, harnessed to carts like beasts, crawled long miles underground. Children might be sent into these pits of gloom at the age of five, and, if they were fortunate and were with a model employer, might get some schooling after a day of thirteen hours' labour. What the homes of such drudges were like—often run up by jerry-builders in stifling courts, where sunlight never penetrated, cesspools abounded, drainage was non-existent, can be imagined without much effort—necessarily they were the breeding grounds of disease and the feeding places of graveyards.

Meantime Corn Laws put high prices on food, and wages were kept at the lowest possible level. What wonder if just a hundred years ago hunger riots occurred as a result of which five men were hanged in the fen district. A march of such famished creatures was against the law ; it was a crime, as Peterloo was to prove, for workmen to meet. Freedom of speech was not permitted. The "Gagging Acts" were to take away the last semblance of liberty that remained. Labour had no rights—but why should it have ? smirked authority. The only way of preserving your workmen's morals was to keep his back bent and his nose to the grindstone ; then he could not get into any mischief. And society generally approved.

All this makes an ugly picture, but the very amazement with which we contemplate the horrors of its details to-day indicates the enormous change for the better which has been effected since 1818 in the conditions of English labour, a change which justifies Mr. H. G. Wells's dictum that "The world is now a better place for a common man than ever it was before, the spectacle wider, and richer, and deeper, and more charged with promise and hope." It may be asked who were responsible for the change, and some folk not too well up in their history might expect the answer to be, "Why, the Trade Unions," or "Labour Agitators." But it is doing no discredit to Labour to say that it was in no position to provide leaders of public opinion in the years during which reform of the industrial system was more urgently advocated and pressed on the legislature ; and it is also not untrue to affirm that English Labour has not thrown up very many thinkers. Something was done on the co-operative side of the Trade Union movement. But the real reforms which secured amelioration of the social and industrial conditions of the poor were promoted by men outside the ranks of Labour and often opposed to the orthodox

tenets of democratic faith. It is perhaps worth adding, though a little beside the point, that Bright and Cobden and Gladstone, benefactors though they were to the working classes in the matter of cheap food, were no friends of labour in such important respects as the shortening of hours and State inspection of factories.

Frequently enough it was men of a quite different stamp who were among the staunchest advocates of improved factory legislation. The early philanthropists included so famous a reactionary from Radicalism and "Pantisocracy" as Southey. If Robert Owen is reckoned now among the forerunners of modern Socialism, it was as a practical manufacturer that he helped the beginnings of factory reform in the Act of 1819; and it was upon his experiments that its provisions were based. As for the first effective Factory Act of 1833 which led to the appointment of inspectors, that was the work of Michael Sadler, an enemy of Parliamentary Reform. And later, of course, it was Lord Shaftesbury, Conservative of Conservatives, fiercely opposed to anything savouring of Socialism, who procured the Ten Hours Act of 1847 and carried through legislation that stopped the labour of girls and women in mines, and did something for little boy-slaves in coal pits.

If we take a glance in other directions the conclusion is forced upon us that the altruism of detached champions has achieved what agitators have only talked about. It was a group of Manchester doctors, headed by Dr. Perceval, who raised the questions of overwork of children and sanitary reform in factories. The martyr for a free Press was Leigh Hunt. It was a judge, Sir Samuel Romilly, who laboured so devotedly to ameliorate the severity of the criminal law; Elizabeth Fry, the banker's daughter, who first realised and relieved the horrors of the prison system. It was a military chaplain, Andrew Bell, who first proposed the scheme of "Schools for All," and showed the way towards education for the masses which Joseph Lancaster followed. The novelist, Charles Reade, son of an Oxfordshire squire, forced public attention to the abuses in lunatic asylums; Sir Robert Peel reformed the Police; and it is the name of the merchant, George Peabody, which we associate with the cause of the better housing of workmen. In fine, the champions to whom Labour owes its deliverance from many of the cruellest wrongs inflicted by the so-called Industrial Revolution did not belong to Labour's class: reform came from the outside and conformed to Professor Dicey's general rule which declares that legislation is the expression of the best informed opinions of the previous generation.

NATIONAL GUILDS. II.

To the attacks made upon him by the National Guildsmen, as by all Socialist and revolutionary propagandists, we can imagine the Capitalist replying as follows :

" I find myself described in your literature as an oppressor and exploiter, wealthy and wasteful, contributing myself nothing to the wealth of the country, but appropriating by cunning and violence the products of the labour of others. Against this harsh judgment I appeal to the industrial history of the last hundred years. We capitalists have not oppressed the working man, but have helped him to raise himself step by step from an ill-fed, short-lived, and semi-brutal condition to one in which he is prosperous and well-educated, but, alas ! not contented. Amongst us there are wealthy men ; but the vast majority of capitalists are struggling members of the middle classes. Few of us are wasteful ; if a large proportion of the national income passes through our hands, we use it to maintain the State services, to educate the people, and to establish those reserves of wealth which are the starting-point for every advance in general progress. Without our help and guidance Labour is barren ; we by thrift and its progeny, enterprise, science and control, have given it life and fruitfulness.

" After the wars with Napoleon we found the country exhausted and unproductive ; we were men involved in the general struggle for subsistence for ourselves and our families. We do not claim that as a body we were actuated by wide humanitarian ideals ; but in seeking a sufficient livelihood for ourselves, a decent maintenance for our widows, and the best possible education for our children, we at least set no evil example to our neighbours. Uniting our efforts, we covered the country with a network of railways and factories, the sea with ships, and distant lands with colonies. Gradually we absorbed the mass of undirected labour into well-paid industries. We enabled the population of the country to increase fourfold, and each man in it at the end of the century to enjoy in commodities sixteen times as much as he could claim at the beginning. For all this we have never asked for thanks ; it is our satisfaction to have begotten children who are thrifty, courageous, and self-sacrificing ; and the course of the war has shown that the lives and livelihood of our class have been placed unreservedly at the service of the nation.

" And now you propose to take our railways, our ships, our factories by the right of stronger ; to destroy the capitalist,

and to enjoy his inheritance. This you cannot do. You can seize the bricks, the concrete, and the steel, the trust-deeds and the paper securities which are the material part of the capitalist system ; but the spirit of thrift, industry, science, and discipline which is its soul will escape you. In your hands our machinery will rust, surplus value will be replaced by loss, and the misery to which you propose to reduce us will rapidly infect your own condition. Be wise in time, and take us as your friends and comrades, for society needs us both."

The Guildsman's reply will be something of this kind : "At last you, who have so long presumed to pass judgment on the working man, stand before our tribunal, and you will be judged without mercy, but with fairness. You are not a man, and we are not concerned with any virtues that have been shown by husbands and fathers of your class ; those virtues would have shone more brightly had they been detached from your system. We make no attack on individuals as such ; but if they come forward to thwart our purposes they must face the consequences that have always ensued in times of social change.

" You boast of what you have accomplished in a hundred years of industrial development ; you could have achieved nothing had you not had at your disposal a mass of helpless subservient human material which you moulded to your purpose. It never occurred to you to trust these men as your comrades, and to provide for their wives and children as for your own. For the employer the comfortable villa, the regular income, the well-equipped school ; for the working class the almshouse, the public house, and the schools of charity. Under your rule the numbers of the working classes have increased, and their material condition has improved ; but you have crushed their souls. You have fed them as you have fed your cattle, to give you a richer return. You have displayed the spirit of the slave-owner, and we refuse to be your slaves even for good wages.

" You say that we act upon the right of the stronger—that too, is your fault. By mutual sympathy and firm organisation we have built up strength out of weakness ; you with every material advantage are yet a decaying class. You say that you saved to protect wife and children ; we see everywhere that the individual capitalist clings to his possessions until extreme old age, and that his children reach maturity and bear all the burdens of family life without the support you might give them. You affect a contempt for political life, but all the same you have called in the working class voters to settle the quarrels in which you yourselves indulge. They will settle more than that.

" You think that without you industry will perish, and the worker be reduced to beggary. No change of system can take place without a cataclysm which brings much suffering. We, too, may need for a time to go short of bread, to wear dingy clothing, and still to work for long hours. We must buy our experience in the school of suffering, as we have bought it before. But we shall be guided by the star of hope, and in no long time human energy will work out for itself new and brighter forms of existence than yet have been dreamt of."

We do not here arrogate the right to pass judgment in this quarrel. We do not indeed think that the impartial historian of the nineteenth century, if such a person ever comes to exist, will depict the capitalist either as a hero or as a villain in melodrama. These highly coloured pictures are specifically the product of the large town and the separation of classes ; in small towns and in villages they only provoke a smile, for when men know each other as individuals they become indifferent to abstractions. But the masses of mankind have at all times been moved to action by abstractions rather than by personalities, by fancies rather than by facts. It is much more important therefore to recognise that a wage-earner feels himself to be a slave than to prove that he has no occasion to do so.

Our contention is that in the long run polities dominate economics, not *vice versa* ; that social relations are more essential than business ties ; and that a clear programme is more hopeful than any compromise. Only when these principles are admitted can we go on to say that the ascertainment of precise facts is never superfluous, and that slow change is always preferable to violent disruption. So far we are in sympathy with the National Guildsmen when they protest against compromise, and declare themselves averse to an "impartial" review of industrial relations. An ideal cannot be halved.

If, then, any ideal such as the Guildsmen uphold comes to be accepted by the most active forces in the nation (that they should represent a majority in numbers is not essential), resistance to it will be useless. A fight can only be put up by those who themselves uphold an ideal which has greater attractive power. There have been times when the constructors of roads and railways, the pioneers of colonies and cotton factories, the designers of motor-cars and of the *Mauretania* have fascinated the imagination of a nation ; so much can hardly be said of those who, perhaps from nobler motives, have planned Bournville and Port Sunlight, Llandegai and Golder's Green. But if those who feel themselves attached to the capitalist move-

ment of the nineteenth century and its Conservative and Liberal parties have indeed a message for the twentieth century, it is time that it should find its apostle. There is ample justification for the criticism of the Labour ideals of which National Guildism is one ; but criticism will hardly impede the march of events for ten years.

Democracy in politics is open in the abstract to every criticism, and has in actual history led to the most irreparable disasters ; and yet there are and will be democracies that are practicable and progressive. National Guilds are nothing but democracy applied to industrial life ; and as every day their realisation in practice seems nearer, so their advocates are turning their thoughts to all the important details which may make the difference between success and failure.

But more important than any details is a true picturing of the general social conditions in which we live in these days of war, and shall live for many years after war is over. On the one hand, a vast society which has committed itself to State Socialism for the one object of success in war ; which lives sternly, works long hours, represses all individual thought, until victory is won ; on the other hand, an intellectual minority, strongly organised, ardently apostolic, seeks to wrest for itself and its class in the middle of the struggle political and social supremacy. A conflict between these forces must be serious, and may be disastrous. Before discussing the possibility of its avoidance we must lay down the essential conditions of our social life in war time. No class dare feel itself rich, none can be allowed to suffer real poverty ; all must work, none must be overworked. Many individuals must die for the good of the whole ; better that it should be the aged and the weak than the young and strong. All effort must be concentrated on the essentials of life, food, clothing, order and protection ; luxuries must be postponed till better times.

If once this picture is realised, we may admit that Capitalism as a system perhaps represents the dead hand of the past, and that it must go its way as Theocracy and Feudalism have gone before it ; and that in its place may arise some new system such as is outlined in Guildism. We cannot, indeed, speak for the official advocates of National Guilds, who are themselves engaged in this very task ; but we do seek to establish the point that it is better to choose even the worse of two social systems and to build upon it than to attempt a compromise that satisfies neither side. The only true compromise is a reasonable delay for the purpose of voluntary adjustment.

CORRUPT WELT POLITIK. GERMAN PENETRATION IN BELGIUM BEFORE THE WAR.

THE Germans organised the peaceful penetration of Belgium long before the war, and at the outbreak of hostilities their position in trade, industry and finance was so strong that no other foreign Power could compete with them on equal terms in the Belgian market. It took the Germans about 25 years to complete the economic conquest of Belgium, and nowhere did they employ such cunning devices to place their hands on the national wealth of any country. Every method seemed good to them. They exercised pressure on the conscience, they utilised political and racial questions, they exploited personal interest. To those who might express surprise that no resistance was offered to this methodical invasion it must be explained that Belgium, as a neutral State, had no right to ally herself with any Great Power, and that therefore she could not make any effectual remonstrance ; for this would have been deemed as a manifestation of hostility towards Germany.

The principal focus of the German operations in Belgium was Antwerp, and thence their influence radiated over the whole country. The Belgian nation, as is well known, is divided into two races, the Flemish, whose language is of Teutonic origin, and the Walloons, who speak French. Naturally it was with the Flemish in Antwerp that the Germans started their economic offensive, Antwerp being at once the Flemish capital of the country and the richest of its towns. Immediately the Germans started to revive the old racial quarrels between the Flemish and the Walloons. They promised the Flemish all sorts of advantages that would accrue from the friendship of Germany, and the Press contained suggestive articles on the language question, which, of course, were not addressed to the French-speaking Walloons. By such means they wormed their way into the heart of the Flemish faction and cultivated the friendship of their most influential families. This to such an extent that a famous Flemish writer, Pol de Mont, declared publicly that Germany might rely upon Belgium, who would be her surest shield against France.

To secure the co-operation of the Walloons the Germans used a different weapon. They represented France as a rotten and decadent nation, devoid of conscience and honour, and as the pronounced enemy of religion. In this way they succeeded in alienating the French sympathies of certain Walloon families who were greatly attached to the Catholic faith. At the same time they represented Germany as the most virtuous of all

the nations, the only country for the religious and God-fearing. Germany virtuous ! After all the crimes of the last three years. Germany the moral example in Antwerp, where 74 per cent. of the prostitutes, recognised and registered as such by the authorities, were German.

Having duly prepared the terrain the Germans started their main offensive. They professed all kinds of friendly sentiments towards the Belgians, and whenever money was raised for charity, German names figured most prominently with the largest subscriptions. On the occasion of German festivals in Belgium they spent large sums of money, and never missed an opportunity of enhancing German prestige in the eyes of the populace. In Antwerp the birthday of the Kaiser was feted with more *éclat* than that of King Albert. In such ways the predominance of Germany was already secured long before the war started. There were 30,000 Germans in Antwerp and 80,000 in the whole of Belgium, a country which had already too large a population for its restricted area.

There was a German school in Antwerp, the "Allgemeine Deutsche Schule," which was founded by public subscription. A study of the subscription list is enlightening ; it contains the names of Belgians who may or may not have admired German educational methods but who certainly had commercial interests in Germany. Many citizens of Antwerp sent their children to this school, where the little Belgians received an education in Kultur and were imbued with theories which inculcated contempt for everything which was not German. Full use was also made of all naturalised Belgians of German origin. Somebody has said : " You cannot naturalise a German ! " That is quite true, and Belgian confidence was betrayed by wolves in sheep's clothing. The sequel should serve as a warning to shepherds the world over.

To these methods of economic penetration Germany added her special Press—e.g., the *Brusseler Zeitung*, the *Belgische Tageblatt*, the *Deutscher Anzeiger fuer Antwerpen*. Last but not least, the " Wolff Telegraphen Bureau " tried to acquire the Agence Havas, the most important information bureau in Belgium, and to force it, under threat of having all publication in Germany stopped, to print only information issuing from the Wolff Bureau. Fortunately that blackmail miscarried. To exercise control over Belgian trade with other countries, and with the object of acquiring intelligence in certain business transactions, Germans were in many cases made consuls for foreign countries in Belgium. A certain von Barry was Italian consul in Brussels, and another German, Reith, was Russian consul in Antwerp. This enabled them to take away from the

Belgians the best business transactions with these countries and give them to German firms.

Another German method, and one of their best, was the *volontaire* system. Every year Germany sent several hundred young men under twenty years of age to Belgium, who offered their services without pay. They received employment readily in all kinds of offices, as their labour cost nothing and they worked very strenuously. After a year or two, when this voluntary "commercial spy" knew all the secrets of the business and had copied a list of his employer's clients, he either went back to Germany with his ill-gotten information or opened a German branch in the neighbourhood of his former employer.

The Germans were also much helped by an important enquiry agency, "Wys Muller," which at its discretion could either make the fortune or engineer the ruin of Belgian men of business. The offices of this information bureau were the first to be destroyed by the exasperated population of Belgium on the outbreak of war; the reprisals exacted by the conquering Hun for this manifestation were none the less vindictive, however, in consideration of the fact that the "Wys Muller" had already achieved the objects for which it was instituted. To go further, the Germans acquired shares in the most important industries, by preference those on which the national security was dependent. They became shareholders in the "Fabrique National des Armes de Guerre," in various shipping concerns, in "Les Acieries de Sambre et Meuse," "Les Sociétés de Tramways," and "Le Credit Anversois," etc.

Von Barry, the before-mentioned consul and virtual chief of the German colony, occupied so important a place in Belgian life that he thought it wiser to change his name, and called himself "de Barry" instead. He was administrator of nineteen important Belgian industrial concerns, while his three sons controlled not less than twenty others. His private property was situated in the very heart of the fortifications of Antwerp, where he was very much "at home" in more senses than one.

The "Allgemeine Elektrizitaets Gesellschaft," Germany's biggest electrical plant, was firmly installed in Belgium and was engaged in the most insidious and unfair competition with every Belgian electrical enterprise. German firms were given preferential treatment by the Government when tendering for constructing fortifications, harbours or public buildings, and in nine cases out of ten it was Germany that got the contract. Field guns were manufactured at Cockrill, in Belgium, but the Government ordered the heavy guns for the defence of Antwerp from Krupps. Rifles were also manufactured in Belgium, but these were mostly Mausers, which, of course, went to Germany.

The Germans sold cheap goods and gave long credit. The French and English sold expensive goods and gave no credit at all. The Germans were the "servants" of their clients, whereas the English and French manufacturers lacked that bedside manner which their rivals cultivated. The Germans furnished the quality and model in accordance with the wish of their customers, whereas the English and French tried to force their models upon the customer, who therefore dealt with Germany. In the cutlery trade, for example, the Germans furnished knives without mark or origin, allowing the Belgians to stamp them with their own trade mark. In this way they succeeded in capturing the cutlery trade, once one of the richest Belgian industries.

There were two purely German banks firmly established in Belgium, the "Deutsche Bank" and the "Dresdener Bank." These institutions started a very active campaign, which was fortunately interrupted by the war. But already they were holding the money of many Belgian firms, discounting long-dated bills and offering easy credit in exchange for investment in German enterprises. Many investors were attracted through special terms offered by these German banks, and when war broke out it was extremely difficult for many Belgians to withdraw their money from these institutions.

As has been shown, the Germans left no stone unturned to achieve the economic conquest of Belgium. For their own ends they excited the passions of the people, they exploited religious sentiments and used party and racial politics to attain their objective. They entered upon all kinds of business enterprises, either as servants or as shareholders. They manipulated public opinion and the Press by persuasion, threat or blackmail. They entered into the mind of the children through their schools and into the thought of the grown-up through the bluff of their "Kultur." They achieved the conquest of the small trader through flattery and by giving him all kinds of petty advantages, they won over the great financier by booming his enterprises. They hypnotised the masses by displaying the power of their Empire and they were complacent and strong, humble and despotic at one and the same time.

The result was that they were feared, but not loved. They exported goods to the annual value of £40,000,000 to little Belgium, and that was worth, in their view, more than all the affection in the world. The iron of Germany has bitten deep into the heart of Belgium, and for the present all is arrogance; but after the war the unchastened Hun will no doubt resume his painstaking and conciliatory (but none the less deadly) rôle of peaceful penetration.

CHAPTER AND VERSE. (I.)

ONE of the many unsavoury accompaniments of a prolonged state of war is the growth of a spirit of censoriousness, which embitters discussions and exhibits those who have to write or speak on controversial topics in the uncomfortable (as well as aggressive) garb of the Pharisee who is for ever thanking his Maker that he is more virtuous than his fellows. We are all inclined to presume upon our good intentions, and this too easily acquired habit lends directness to the mutual accusations of arrogant self-sufficiency which are levelled by both sets of disputants against each other. There is, however, this excuse for those who lay themselves open to such a charge. The times are so serious that we cannot afford the luxury of mincing our words, nor indulge the tendency to avoid plain speaking out of consideration for the feelings of others. We must be direct, but perhaps our offence in this respect may be condoned if we are careful to confine ourselves to facts and to resist the temptation of embroidery. In the following indictment of certain aspects of pacifism we shall endeavour, therefore, to eschew any superfluity of comment and, by quoting actual chapter and verse, to let the defendants speak for themselves.

A few years before the war a number of people, whose sincerity and good intentions it is unnecessary to question, came to the conclusion that armaments were really unnecessary, and that our comparatively small expenditure on the Navy and the Army was a waste of money and labour. Holding these views they organised political campaigns against this, in their opinion, useless expenditure, and when the naval estimates came before the House of Commons they vigorously opposed them. All the reasons for naval increases were, so they alleged, due to scares and panics purposely fomented by firms interested in the manufacture of armaments.*

Amongst the originators of those protests against armaments were many who, during the war, have become prominent in Pacifist societies. Though the war has devastated Europe, revolutionised the world and staggered humanity, these good people frequently remind us that it has not disturbed their principles and that they still tenaciously hold the precise views they advocated before the war. As Mr. Lambert stated in Parliament, he had given pledge after pledge in peace time that he would never support conscription, and he did not see that the war had made any difference. Such self-confidence, not to

* See Mr. Philip Snowden's speech in the House on the Naval Estimates of 1914.

say conceit, would be sublime were it justified by the event. It becomes ridiculous when the same people, unchastened by experience, repeat their old slogan in the same persistent belief that they alone are right and that all would have been well if we had taken their advice. One is reminded of the inappropriate remarks that parrots educated in the fo'c'sle are popularly supposed to utter when translated to a Deanery.

As we look back to those Pacifist meetings in the distant days before the war we recall to mind some of the prominent men and women who took part in them. We remember Ramsay Macdonald, F. W. Jowett, Philip Snowden, Mrs. Snowden, F. W. Hirst, Lord Courtney, Charles Trevelyan, E. D. Morel, George Lansbury, Miss Emily Hobhouse, the Editor of the *Labour Leader*, Norman Angell, J. T. Walton Newbold, Arthur Ponsonby, W. Paul, W. Gallacher, John McLean, A. Macmanus, and many more. All these people declared that the great war would never occur, and made up their minds in advance that the British Government would be to blame for any international misunderstanding that might arise. We do not doubt that some of these persons believed quite honestly in the pacific nature and intentions of the Germans; others, perhaps, were better informed. Mr. Morel wrote in his *Ten Years of Secret Diplomacy* (1912) of "the extreme moderation and pacific intention of the Kaiser," and he maintained that the only danger to the peace of Europe arose from the policy of the Entente Powers, which was injurious to the interests of the Germans. Writing on February 29th, 1912, he said that "not one school of thought only, but the whole German nation, is seething with an absolutely genuine sense of grievance against the British Government," and he adds that the German action in sending the *Panther* to Agadir "had been grossly misrepresented," as the act was justified, Germany having, during nearly ten years, had legitimate causes of complaint at her treatment by French and British diplomacy.* (Page 12.)

These views of British diplomacy were widely circulated by Mr. Morel and his friends, and no doubt they created much suspicion as to our designs against the peace-loving Germans. The desire to discountenance preparedness on Britain's part was one of the inducements that led to the formation of the Anglo-German Friendship Society, of which Morel was a member. A similar body was formed in Germany, but not with quite the same objects, and a book, *Germany in the Nineteenth Century*, was published, the contributors including J. Ramsay Mac-

* See also articles by Morel in *The Nineteenth Century and After* for November, 1911, and February, 1912, and a series of letters in the *Daily News* on "How Wars are Made," October, 1911.

donald, Charles Trevelyan, Norman Angell and the late Lord Courtney of Penwith. In its pages, one of the German contributors, Vice-Admiral H. von Ahlefeld, formulates the demand for the " freedom of the seas." *

The following extracts are representative of the pre-war views held by some prominent pacifists :

1. E. D. MOREL.—“The analogy the anti-German party at home seeks to draw between the France of Napoleon I. and industrial modern Germany, in order to make our flesh creep, must strike anyone who tries to think it out as even more comical than it is foolish. The France of a hundred years ago, drunk with military glory, at the feet of a military genius whose god was War and whose personal ambition was at once limitless and uncontrollable by any force within France, bears as much resemblance in its motives, its needs and its possibilities to the Germany of to-day as . . . well, as the most dissimilar objects which the reader's mind can conjure.” (*Ten Years of Secret Diplomacy*, p. 176, written 1912.)

Writing in support of a strong German navy, he says : “People who persist in representing the German fleet as built for entirely aggressive purposes, pointing to Germany's great army as sufficient to secure her safety, altogether overlook the fact that if Germany is still, as ever, compelled to protect her land frontiers and maintain her position in Europe, the old Germany of continent-limited interests has passed away, and has been replaced by a Germany whose national existence is equally bound up with her overseas commerce and industry, which has largely become the life-blood of the nation.”—*Ibid*, p. 180.

Morel goes on to complain that our Foreign Office has opposed Germany's reasonable desire for the acquisition of coaling stations on the high seas. “The Foreign Office was prepared to take immense risks in order to prevent Libreville from falling into German hands. How much longer is this insane dog in the manger policy to be pursued ? To credit the Germans with all sorts of Machievellian designs is childish and undignified.”—*Ibid*, p. 181.

2. J. RAMSAY MACDONALD, M.P.—“It is the fathers, and, alas ! that one should say it, the mothers of those coddled officers, who, in spite of privileges, could not produce one per cent. of decent fighting men, who are the enemy. It is people who want titles who are telling you to-day that Germany is coming to blow up London with a fleet of airships.”—Aug. 2nd, 1908.

* See article by Sir George Magill in *The Nineteenth Century and After* for April, 1918.

"We shall oppose in every possible way the proposed increases in the naval budget."—Jan. 19th, 1914.

"It is a most extraordinary thing that at a time when there is more international goodwill than I can remember in my lifetime, the cost of the Navy is going up." (January 27th, 1914.)

3. The late J. KEIR HARDIE, M.P.—"For the past few months we have been hearing a good deal about a war scare, the basis of it being the supposed friction between this country and Germany. There has never been the slightest foundation for apprehension in this country of a German invasion. I say quite emphatically that there has never been on the part of Germany the slightest desire for, or the slightest danger of, an outbreak of hostilities against this country." (Speech reported in the *Weekly Times and Echo*, December 3rd, 1911.)

"Every Dreadnought built is a living monument to the incapacity of our so-called statesmen." (August 24th, 1913.)

4. PHILIP SNOWDEN, M.P.—"Suppose we had an invasion by German aeroplanes, and they succeeded in imposing upon us in this country a German Government. Is there any man who thinks that, as soon as the ravages of the invasion had been repaired, the working classes of this country would be any worse off economically or socially under the German Government than under their own British Government?" (June 2nd, 1913; Official Debates, Vol. 53, p. 686.)

"The Army and the Navy do not exist to protect the working people—they do not exist for the benefit of the working people." (House of Commons, June 2nd, 1913.)

5. GEORGE LANSBURY (Editor of the *Herald*).—"Personally, I do not want an army. I do not want anyone to defend me. When I cannot defend myself I will go under."—(House of Commons, April 9th, 1912.)

6. W. C. ANDERSON (now M.P. for the Attercliffe Division of Sheffield).—"Despite signs to the contrary there will, I believe, be no war, nothing at any rate in the nature of a serious or extended warfare."—(*Labour Leader*, July 30th, 1914.)

When the war began, most of these ready-made Pacifists resisted the enthusiasms which appealed to the bulk of their fellow-countrymen and started to thwart necessary war measures. In this effort the I.L.P. and the *Labour Leader* came to the front and have remained there ever since, criticising and condemning the Allies and finding excuses for Germany. The U.D.C. formed at the end of August, 1914, was the next to open anti-war propaganda, followed by the N.C.F. and other similar bodies formed by practically the same group of Pacifists, this method of creating "stage armies" being a favourite device of aggressive minorities.

AFRICAN COLONIES AND THE BRITISH LARDER

THE "Memorandum of War Aims" adopted by the Inter-Allied Labour and Socialist Conference contains a clause dealing with the future of the German Colonies in Africa. In the opinion of the conference "the return of the colonies to those who possessed them before the war or the exchanges or compensations which might be effected ought not to be an obstacle to the making of peace."

We may take it that this resolution is intended to cap the suggestion put forward by Mr. H. G. Wells that the salvation of Africa ought to be secured by the creation of an International Commission to which the sovereign Powers should delegate the greater part of their authority.

Is there, we wonder, among these Labour theorists who are so anxious to decide the destiny of Africa one man who has ever set foot upon that Continent? As for Mr. H. G. Wells's picturesque conception of an Africa given over to trade gin and gun-running, it bears about as much resemblance to reality as Fennimore Cooper's novels bore to the actual life of the Red Indian. To those who have studied British, French and German colonial administration on the spot, the proposed Commission seems like one of those paper panaceas which make interesting reading, but which are either incapable of practical realisation or liable, if applied, to precipitate the very evils they are designed to expel.

Mr. Wells regards the militarisation of the negro as "the most obvious danger of Africa." We are inclined to agree, especially if the militarisation is to be conducted by Germany, which, be it remembered, was the only Power whose colonial programme included such a project. The small contingents of Senegalese which France began to train about three years before war broke out were destined, like the native constabulary in our Crown Colonies, for police duty in French West Africa and in Algeria. The present writer happened to be at Algiers when General Mangin's scheme was elaborated and the bitter opposition it evoked from the French colonists there indicates how impossible it would be for any Metropolitan Government to impose compulsory military service upon large numbers of the native population in any of the French colonies. In British colonies an even stronger prejudice exists against making a soldier of the black. Recommendations which have been occasionally made by Colonial Governors to increase the numbers of the native constabulary on the ground that they would, in

case of serious disturbance, be insufficient to maintain order, have invariably met with discouragement from the Colonial Office. Needless to add the importation of arms and their sale to natives is a crime punished with the severest penalties wherever the British or the French flag flies.

As a matter of fact, the result of British as well as of French influence in Africa has been to demilitarise the negro. For in nearly all the African races the military spirit is inherent. Before our advent war was the normal occupation of the native tribes, in the case of the young men the only occupation. Contact with the white man has, by drawing them off into mining and industrial areas, contributed to the break up of the tribe as a social unit and the general weakening of tribal sentiment. This transformation was also helped by the fact that under the Union Jack and the Tricolor armed defence of the tribal person and property was no longer necessary. And when one remembers that in colonies where thousands of negroes are controlled by a handful of whites whose safety depends upon the absorption of native energies in pacific pursuits, it becomes evident that the "danger of militarisation" is a mere bogey born of an entire ignorance of African life and conditions.

One thing alone can convert that imaginary menace into a genuine danger—the thing which these Internationalists seem to contemplate with equanimity. The restoration of the German flag in those parts of Africa which have been rescued from her domination would certainly mean a resumption of the military organisation of the native which is the foundation of German colonial policy. Moreover, as Germany has been driven out largely by the efforts of white Africanders at the cost of much blood and treasure, it is inconceivable that South Africa will consent to see all her endeavours to establish peace and prosperity in the territories, adjacent to her own, undone. How could Great Britain, whose policy is founded upon the principle of self-determination, bring pressure upon South Africa to give back to her enemies, and ours, lands which she regards as hers by right of conquest and which she is already administering to the satisfaction of the inhabitants?

To anyone who knows the story of the conquest of Damaraland, which surpasses in atrocity all that the Germans have recently done in Belgium and in Poland, the idea is not to be entertained for a moment. Germany must be excluded from Africa as much for the sake of the negroes who writhed under her heel as for the neighbouring Africanders.

Apart from a few International dreamers the British race is

slowly waking up to a sense of our dependence upon our colonies for some of the most essential food-stuffs. The view that they are mere distant appanages of capitalist enterprise whose trade is nothing but a sinister form of exploitation is one of the delusions which is vanishing under war conditions.

How vital that trade is to the well-being of these islands will be borne in upon us more and more, and it is a pity that the wives of working men who remember standing for hours in a queue in the hope of securing a few ounces of margarine are not aware that we owe its chief ingredient to our African colonies. This knowledge might help them to realise that they have a direct interest in the maintenance of the British Empire. The cocoanuts and palm oil imported from our tropical dependencies are essential to maintain the health and efficiency not only of our armies but of our civilian population. It is, moreover, equally important to the native inhabitant who has grown prosperous through the exploitation of his country's natural resources. The immense trade in ground nuts and oil benefits him not indirectly but directly. It has made him a diligent cultivator instead of a warlike savage, for the British flag protects his interests, often at the expense of the white trader.

If the average Briton is inclined to underrate the importance of the British colonies in Africa it is the fault of our education. Hitherto our children have not been taught the meaning of the Empire and its value practically as well as sentimentally. Is it any wonder that the Labour attitude towards politics is always parochial, rarely national, and never Imperial. The very word has been misunderstood. In the popular imagination it still conjures up a picture of aggression much more Prussian than English. Nothing could be further from the truth. If war teaches us to think of the Empire in terms of mutton and margarine it will be an immense gain not only to our understanding of the true problem of Empire but also to Africa. It would teach us the folly of trying to apply the nostrum of international control, whose end has always been strife, to a situation which can only be elucidated in accordance with national needs and sentiments. If we hand over the surviving remnants of the Herreros to their German butchers, the Swahilis and the Congolese to their German exploiters, we shall inflict a grievous wrong on those African dominions who have a right to set their own house in order to maintain it in peace. But the folly of such a surrender will have more than a local effect. It will deprive Great Britain and her Allies of sources of food-stuffs and raw materials which may be even more necessary to us in the future than they are to-day.

PASTORAL FUNCTIONS OF MANAGEMENT.

SOME months ago* we discussed the question whether the lack of acquaintance between employers and workmen and the evils that flow from this were an unavoidable feature of industry on the large scale or might be cured. The answer is, of course, that by taking thought and choosing methods the responsible parties can emphasise and vivify the personal and moral relationships that are inherent in all organised work.

Let no one boggle at the seeming paradox of proceeding to organise a species of friendship. Organisation, to be sure, cannot create the social sentiments and impulses. But neither can these flourish, and often, indeed, they fail wholly to assert themselves, unless they are fostered of set policy. A great part of goodness lies in finding, in laborious detail, the due means to ends that are much on men's lips but less in their lives. In a general way everyone desires to live in comfortable harmony with others. But the art of so living does not come, like the wish, by nature. It can only be acquired and perfected by practice, with a backing of resolve. Sheer unrelenting determination is sometimes the only force that will establish and preserve friendship. A strange friendship this, you may object, that rests on a force, be it the force of will, that seems to shade off into mere calculation and purpose. The friendship of groups, however, more perhaps than that of individuals, must always, if it is to be effective, be stiffened in this way. If such friendship can be embodied and personalised in individuals, so much the better. The larger the group the greater is the need for priests and interpreters of the friendship that exists potentially between them. It is a fair comment on modern life that, while it throws multitudes of men and women into the closest relations of interdependent work, it has failed to give clear enough expression to the co-operative basis of this work, and to give voice and authority to the friendship, stronger or weaker as it may be, that underlies it.

So much in general. The specific need of large-scale industry is agencies of friendship. Granted that employers and workmen may have lost touch with each other to the point, here and there, of alienation, the difficulties can be met, in considerable part at least, by specialising a staff for the pastoral side of management.

In some cases such staffs and such functions have already established themselves. In many others the germs exist in occasional and informal practices. Welfare work, a parallel

* See "Industrial Peace" for November, 1917.

growth, illustrates the general ameliorative process in matters that lie a little aside from the business relations of employers and workmen. Change is there, certainly. But even in the most favourable cases the movement is hesitating and partial. There are a thousand reasons for this. Two stand out from the rest—viz., the novelty of the idea and the paucity of men fitted to carry it out.

For, on the one hand, the status of "Labour Manager" must be such as to ensure independence of the other sides of management—*e.g.*, technical and commercial—and to give him a real voice in the councils of the concern. He must have the right to oppose. As "Labour Member" of the directing staff he will not see eye to eye in each case with his colleagues. Specialists proverbially misunderstand each other. Add a new type, the labour specialist, to the groups of specialists already in control, and his advent will arouse a flutter, if nothing worse. But, despite some preliminary excitement, colleagues and workmen will get used to him. His place and his powers as intermediary, in some sort, between the two parties will become definite and practicable, provided, among other things, that he is the man for the task; and, on the whole, his efforts will promote peace and production. In some quarters a demand has been raised that workmen should be represented on Boards of Directors. Such a change, though more ambitious, would most probably effect less. It is the day-to-day matters that most touch the interests of workmen. In the ordinary course few of these matters would or need reach a Board of Directors. If you include a labour manager, of adequate status and personality, in your directing staff, your Board of Directors, no matter how it is constituted, need hear little about labour questions.

And, on the other hand, your labour manager must fill the bill. Let it be confessed that in this matter the man is everything. No labour manager who by character or education is unable to hold his own among his colleagues in the direction will will be a good organ of friendship. The confidence and respect of the men are equally *sine quibus non* of his success. Where are such paragons of the fraternal and the pastoral to be found?

They are uncommon, to speak frankly, in the business and industrial worlds, which tend to specialise men in other ways.

Let us look abroad for them. The qualities of one profession often supplement those of another. Transferences made on this principle rather than at haphazard often succeed. The war, indeed, by its stimulus of opportunity and motive, has proved that almost any man may do the most unwonted things well. By one tragic haphazard half the men of England have been

plunged into novel and diverse forms of warfare, while a vast number of the rest have mastered new forms of work. But let us not draw a bow at a venture at any and all professions. Those only are relevant which require and educate the pastoral gift.

Pastors ! There is no help but to suggest, for one paradox, the clergy of all denominations. Let it be admitted, if this will reduce the paradox to a platitude and so disarm the scoffer, that there are denominations and denominations, clergy and clergy. There is truly a wide margin of choice here. But it is *à priori* incontestable that men of more than average character and education who have adopted and, of necessity, from relatively disinterested motives the pastoral function in the various churches, would bring the right spirit into industry and much of the ability to make that spirit effective. The Churches hanker after the masses : the masses are curious about the churches. Let the two meet in industry. Common work and convergent interests bring home to contrasted and even to antagonising types their mutual worth, and enhance it. For consider the curate. Ten years, perhaps, at preparatory and public schools, three or four years at a residential university, with a year at a theological college, have adapted him so thoroughly to a peculiar and abnormal environment that in taking up parish work he runs grave risks. For either he may prove insusceptible to new types and strange classes or he may pass to the extreme of sentimentality that drives some clergymen into the arms, as they think, of Labour. Replace Cuddesdon by Cammell-Laird. Let the clergy approach the working class family and its welfare—which are their main province—not indirectly by mothers' meetings, Sunday-schools, and what-not, but directly through the father, the normal breadwinner, and through his work. If the clergy went into the shops, in dead earnest and not as sympathetic visitors, churchgoing among workmen would probably grow. The paradox is one for both employers and bishops to cogitate seriously.

After the clergymen the schoolmasters. In this large and diverse profession, too, you find those "notes" of relative penury, relative disinterestedness and humanity. The *à priori* argument in their favour is at least as strong as in the case of the clergy. Personal and professional history probably gives them the advantage in adaptability. Being teachers they should be good learners. As a class they are more akin to the industrials ; yet as a class they live perforce in a curious social isolation which is harmful both to them and to the community. Like the clergy, they suffer the discomforts of a blind-alley occupation. Once past the narrow wicket gate of tests and

qualifications escape into other professions is difficult or impossible. Men enter in the spirit, perhaps, of crusaders or humane adventurers. Later they find themselves the victims of a caste taboo. The various professions drive their lonely furrows, whereas interchange of men and methods and ideas, done with discrimination, would freshen and fertilise the tasks of each of them.

It is not only in manual work that the war has shown the frivolity and the costliness of Trade Union restrictions. The old walls of division among the brain-workers are just as good marks for reform. Specialisation in the direction of industry is in these days far from complete. Efficiency is only some fraction of the possible. "Ideas, methods, men"—nothing less than these—are the need of the hour. If you cannot find them, or enough of them, in your workshops, you must search the hedgeways and the bypaths.

The times, we repeat, are peculiarly favourable to the transplanting of men. And, lest anyone should think the matter wholly in his own discretion, let us remember that many men, on leaving the Army, will be averse to resuming their former work, and that places will have to be found or made for them. Unsettlement, indeed, may be very widespread. The schoolmasters and the clergy who have served are no more likely to escape it than other classes. It is often forgotten that many clergymen have served as combatants. Of these the Scotch Churches and the Nonconformists have provided, owing probably to the accidents of church organisation, rather more than their share. These men, paradox and prejudice apart, are capable of bringing into industry an influence of the most necessary and salutary character, if industry were their choice. That it might well be the choice of many of them is no very hazardous guess. That the schoolmasters, if given the chance, would come over in numbers can hardly be doubted. And besides these two professions, which had pastoral value and interest, from the point of view of the present paper, before the war, and have now added to it, thousands of men have abundantly learned, under the grimmest circumstances of war, the lessons of humanity and care for others and social brotherhood. These lessons are among the main guarantees of liberty and peace in England after the war. Industry cannot, with wisdom or safety, be indifferent to the claims of these men to have their gifts of leadership used in the vocations of peace.



FOOD FOR THOUGHT.

“THE old days of low wages and degrading conditions must be banished. If industrial strife is to follow the military conflict, this country will fall from its position of eminence.”—*The Minister of Labour.*



The action of the British Workers’ League, which, after taking a referendum from the branches, has resolved itself into a political unit under the name of The National Democratic and Labour Party, is an event that should have far-reaching results. We have referred elsewhere to the programme of that section of Labour which has allowed itself to be influenced if not dominated by the I.L.P. and other unpatriotic agencies, and we observe with no little satisfaction the birth of a new democratic party which is declaredly anti-pacifist and which may succeed in rallying to its side that great but silent majority of normal men and women who have no desire to become class-conscious, who put patriotism before party, and who are wise enough to prefer growth to cataclysm.



The Council of the new party has passed a resolution expressing confidence in the Government and assuring the Prime Minister of their support in combating the mischievous policy of the defeatists. Further resolutions affirm the party’s complete solidarity with the industrial aims and social aspirations of British Trade Unionism and appeal to the majority of the masses of British Labour to unite on the common platform of faith in the country and Empire as against “a nebulous yet sinister Internationalism.”



The soundest Imperialism will always be based upon a knowledge and understanding of the needs of the men and women of the Mother-country.



The Socialist Festival of the Marx centenary has come and gone. Whilst the civilised world fights to the death against the domination of German brute-force, British Socialists make their pilgrimage to the grave of the German philosopher whose mind-force brought about the disaffection of Russia. It was (as we all know) this Russian collapse that was responsible for the set-back on the Western Front, and this again not only prolongs the war but piles up the sacrifices which civilisation

has to make in the cause of freedom. Hence these centenary rejoicings on May 5th, 1918. To some these deductions may seem far-fetched, but the Socialist Press has no doubt about the reality of the connection between Bolshevism and Marxism. We read that "Marx's monument is now a-building ; a great corner-stone has recently been laid in Russia," that "his influence survives to make a Bolshevik revolution" and that "Marxism was the driving force in April no less than in November." There are some who found their hopes for the future on the defeat of Ludendorff ; there are others who desire the victory of Marx. It would be strange if the dead German philosopher should succeed where live German militarism fails. "The evil that men do lives after them ; the good is oft interred with their bones."



"To almost everyone the war has brought a revolution in the practice of life : it would be strange if it did not bring a revolution of ideas."—*From "Britain after the Peace."*



The divergence between the point of view of responsible labour organisations and the type of agitation carried on by irresponsible mischief makers is well exemplified by the following contrast :—A resolution proposed at Blackpool on May 22nd advocating the withdrawal of Labour support for the Government on the grounds that the war is being prolonged for materialistic and capitalistic objects was rejected by the Congress of the National Union of General Workers by a large majority. On the same day a Town Councillor of Derby, Reuben Farrow, was convicted of making statements likely to prejudice recruiting, to wit, amongst others—"Your sons are giving their lives for the benefit of capitalists. . . . The only thing this war is being carried on for is for swelling the dividends of capitalists."



After the Revolution some ten thousand Russians domiciled in England elected to be repatriated rather than serve in the British Army. Of these ten thousand less than half have fulfilled their undertaking to return to Russia. Of the remainder the great majority have changed their names and are reported as "missing." It would almost seem as if these "wage-slaves groaning under the iron heel of capitalistic tyranny" prefer the seclusion of Brighton and Maidenhead, where they suffer in silence rather than "come out with dance and song to greet the new, the glorious, the ever-memorable days" of the

"dictatorship of the proletariat" and of the "initiation of the long-yearned-for Socialist order of Society" in their native land.



The difficulty of overtaking a lie after it has once got a good start is exemplified by the tone adopted by *The Workers' Dreadnought* (April 20th), which insinuates that the Women's Commission of Inquiry into the slanders aimed against the W.A.A.C. is so much official whitewash. The Report of the Commission, says the *Dreadnought*, "proves and disproves nothing. The Commissioners, during their eight days' visit to France, could see little beyond what the military authorities desired them to see. The statistics supporting their case are merely the official figures. . . . The fact that the Commissioners recommend that the powers of dismissal and transfer be more fully exercised than at present is significant."



A correspondent writes asking for information about "The British League of Nations Society." We must confess to a lack of knowledge as to the *bona fides* of this body; but as it is spoken of with approval by Professor Schüching of Marburg, and supported by Mr. G. Lowes Dickenson, we are not brimming over with impatience to subscribe to the Society.



A proposal has been introduced into the American Senate to melt down the statue of Frederick the Great and to turn it into bullets for the Army. If the proposal is carried out, American sense of humour will have effectively disposed of a typical example of Teutonic pride. This massive figure was presented by the Kaiser to Theodore Roosevelt with an intimation that the donor would be gratified if his immortal ancestor should find a place of honour in the Capitol at Washington. About the same time Mr. Roosevelt received a present from King Edward. This took the form of an exquisite miniature of the founder of Pennsylvania, William Penn, the Quaker. The colossus was accommodated in an extensive but seldom visited cellar; the miniature found a choice niche in the best cabinet in the White House. "Sic transit gloria."



Amongst the Hard Cases that used to be propounded in the columns of *Truth* appeared the following:—

"A, B and C were roped together on a mountaineering expedition, A and C at the two ends of the rope and B in the

middle. During the descent a perilous moment arose, A and C being on *terra firma* whilst B was suspended in thin air over the crevasse. A and C were married, B was a bachelor. What should A and C do ? The answer adjudged correct was that the unmarried man should be cut adrift. This was done and B fell headlong down the chasm whilst his would-be executioners looked the other way. Now for the sequel. A and C, crest-fallen and weary, but having concocted a plausible story to account for the disappearance of their comrade, arrive late in the evening at their hotel. The first person they meet is B who, having fallen on soft snow, got back in comfortable time to dress for dinner. What should B do ? "

Our readers may exercise their ingenuity in applying the moral to recent happenings and on speculating upon the identity of A and C. Our own idea is that a certain little man from Wales will be found to be able to enjoy his after-dinner cigar whilst certain other people are uncomfortably seated upon the horns of a dilemma.



For nearly four years the Germans have been trying to stop the circulation of the *Libre Belgique*. Though scores of people have been imprisoned in connection with its publication, the brave little journal has nevertheless succeeded in defying its persecutors and in making its appearance time after time, first in one guise, then in another. Amongst other stories that the Belgians tell of the vicissitudes of this newspaper since Brussels fell into German hands, the following instance of diamond cut diamond is worth recording. It appears that the Catholic priests were suspected of complicity in the persistent vitality of the banned publication and so German agents, in the disguise of pious Catholics, offered money to the priests in the confessional stalls with the murmured injunction, "Pour le *Libre Belgique*." After this had been going on for some time, the Bishop sought an interview with the German military governor, whom he informed, with real or assumed indignation, that certain ill-conditioned worshippers had profaned the churches by attempting to use the Confessional for propaganda purposes. Thereupon he threw upon the table a large sum of money, said to have been collected in this manner, together with a schedule giving the names and addresses of all the German agents who had so clumsily baited the snare in sight of the bird. German vindictiveness, however, is not to be cheated of its prey, and the latest news is that a priest has been condemned to death for his part in an attempt to keep alive this last vestige of Belgian independence in the conquered territory.

Appeals are being issued for cyclists to assist in the distribution of I.L.P. literature in rural districts. Two notices to this effect appeared in the *Labour Leader* of April 11th, one signed by Charles E. Wells, of Woodville, Burton-on-Trent, and the other from W. Francis Moss, of Letchworth. The latter is the London manager of the National Labour Press (I.L.P.), an active pacifist and prospective Labour candidate for the Hitchin division of Hertfordshire. If any of our readers are fond of bicycling and want to get anti-war work, they can obtain fuller details of the scheme from the above-mentioned organisers.



Attention is drawn to Mr. H. G. Wells's article on "The League of Nations" in the *Daily Chronicle* of April 30th. This hardly seems to be the time to look for new trouble, and we fail to see how the national interest can be served by reviving ancient controversies by expatiating on the "Case for Gibraltar." A strong revolutionary spirit prevails in certain quarters in Spain, and though Mr. Wells's contentions may be quite true from a geographical standpoint, it seems injudicious to stir up popular feeling on the subject of Gibraltar at the present crisis.



Mr. Joseph King, M.P., speaking at Keighley, on behalf of the I.L.P. candidate, said he was trying to put out the present Government because of the callous, cold-blooded duplicity of our secret treaties. If we maintain that we must fight on for these bad, dead, corrupt treaties we would never bring the war to an end. At the same meeting Mr. F. W. Jowett, M.P., in reply to a question, said that no country was more prepared for war than this country. Referring to the cost of the war, Jowett said that the accumulated wealth of the country must be called upon, but the accumulated wealth of the worker, the co-operative societies, friendly societies and trade unions must not be touched.



Amongst the May Day messages received by the *Herald* is one from Jim Larkin, who sends greetings from old times comrades in the "Four Winds Fellowship." This organisation was formed in New York in 1916, and its members describe themselves as "Rebels from the Four Seas." The fellowship is avowedly anti-British and seeks to revive the activities of the Clan-na-Gael. At a Sinn Fein meeting held in New York on May 18th, 1918, Jim Larkin was the chief speaker and he denounced England as "the only enemy." Outsiders see most

of the game, especially when they are sympathetically inclined towards the players. American opinion views the Irish trouble in its true perspective and realises that the fault lies with those "who subordinate great universal interests to their local passions."



Speaking in the Canadian Parliament, Sir Sam Hughes declared that there is unquestionable evidence that some of the instigators of the Quebec riots were in collusion with German agents in the United States. It is also alleged that one of the men who were arrested in connection with these disturbances was found to be in possession of twenty-five cheques in denomination of 8, 10, 12, and 15 dollars.



In the May number of *The Plebs Magazine*, Mrs. Winifred Horrabin, secretary of the Plebs League, writes a four-page article in which the authors of INDUSTRIAL PEACE are described as "Industrial Pacifists." If, as we suspect, this adjectival compliment is meant as a jest either our sense of humour is at fault or the witticism is not altogether of a side-splitting character. In general, Mrs. Horrabin's reply crosses the t's and dots the i's of the argument used in "The W.E.A. and the Plebs League," which appeared in our March number. The issue between us is simple and well defined. *The Plebs Magazine* advocates Peace by Negotiation with Germany and a fight to the finish in the Class War. We believe in making the world safe for democracy by defeating German aggression and in maintaining industrial peace at home by striking the happy mean between the demands of Labour, the rights of Capital and the advantage of the Community. "A full life for every man, woman and child of every nation, with opportunity to develop the best that is in them" is an ideal which is not the exclusive monopoly of *The Plebs Magazine*. We subscribe to the same formula, but with two qualifications, that is to say—a full life for the British workman will neither be won by destroying the foundation of British Industry nor by accepting the terms likely to be offered by victorious Prussian Militarism.



The *Plebs* prides itself on taking "the cheerful view." So does the expectant heir when unfavourable bulletins are published on the testator's chance of recovery. Optimism and Pessimism are relative, not absolute terms; and from our point of view the *Plebs Magazine* is that sort of pessimist who, given the choice of two evils, embraces both.

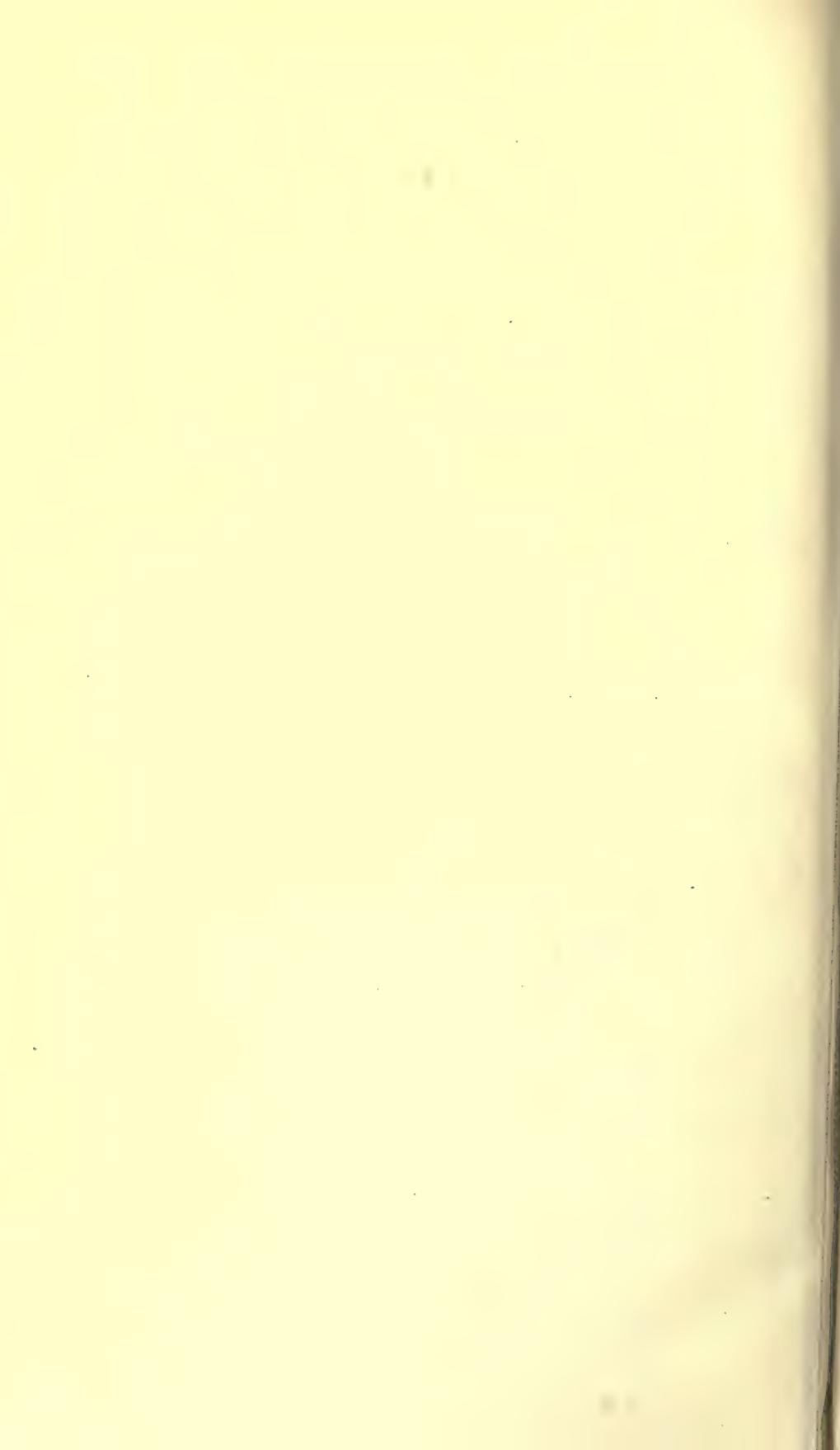
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“There can be no doubt
if we ourselves do not doubt.”

—*The Prime Minister of Australia.*



INDUSTRIAL PEACE

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INDUSTRIAL PEACE

THE NATIONAL LABOUR AND DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

WHEN war broke out the Labour Party, lulled by doctrinaire guidance into a false security, had to come to a sudden decision as to the attitude it should adopt towards a state of affairs which it had been taught to believe could never arise. The political machinery of organised Labour was largely in the hands of the I.L.P., a body whose bias was already predetermined by the fact that the only serious financial backing it had received, outside Trade Union support, had come from a group of pacifist millionaires.

On August 4th the party reassembled to make a decision of enormous importance to their country and doubly fateful for themselves. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, as chairman, opened the proceedings and made a speech throwing the whole of his weight and influence on the Pacifist side, and proposed that the Labour Party should oppose the war by every means in its power whatever the results might be to the country as a whole. When he sat down there was a pause of consternation, suddenly ended by an outburst from the usually restrained John Hodge. "I have fought for Labour for forty years," he broke out, "but damn it, I am a Briton first." Mr. Hodge's lead was followed. Then and there Ramsay Macdonald was defeated by an overwhelming majority and resigned his chairmanship of the Party, Mr. Arthur Henderson being elected in his place, and organised Labour came into line with Unionists and Nationalists to help the Liberal Government in its fight against the German menace.

From this moment began a long and deadly duel between the two sections in the Labour world. The Pacifists, defeated at the first move, had one great advantage. Though they could not entirely control the whole Labour machine, they very quickly got absolute mastery of the Independent Labour Party, and through its agency they marked down for destruction every Labour man who supported the Government. A bitter campaign was started against Mr. John Hodge, and in time he was driven from the Chairmanship of the Labour Party in the House. Every conceivable weapon was brought to bear to make the political lives of the men who stood firm almost impossible. In close alliance with the I.L.P. was started the Union of Democratic Control with its numerous branches

and all its first-cousins such as the No-Conscription Fellowship, The Fellowship of Reconciliation, the Stop-the-War Committee, The National Council of Civil Liberties, etc. Speakers were sent out in hundreds, not so much to address open meetings as to deliver lectures to Trades Councils and similar bodies behind closed doors where the Press were not present and there was no one to refute their statements. So serious did this pressure become that at last the loyal Labour and Socialist group formed themselves in April, 1915, into a body known as the Socialist National Defence Committee to combat pacifism and to act in self-defence. This body held its inaugural meeting at the Queen's Hall on July 21st of the same year. The meeting was a great success, and it was followed by many similar meetings in the provinces.

At this date the burning question before the country was that of conscription. Mr. Ramsay Macdonald and his friends insisted to Mr. Asquith that organised labour would never stand a Conscription Act, and while this controversy was at its height Mr. Keir Hardie, the member for Merthyr Tydfil, died suddenly in November, 1915. Under the Party Truce it had been arranged that whenever a member of Parliament died a political contest should be avoided, and that the party to which the deceased member belonged should have the right to nominate his successor to the seat. Under this arrangement Mr. Keir Hardie was to be replaced at Merthyr Tydfil by another Labour man, and by the usual Independent Labour Party manœuvres, Mr. Winston, whom all South Wales believed to be Pacifist in sympathies, was chosen as successor. The danger of this nomination was great. Information reached the Socialist National Defence Committee that the Germans, by means of their admirable system of propaganda, were preparing to trumpet the unopposed return of Mr. Winston throughout the world as a sign that British democracy was against the war, and that the Government were afraid to fight an anti-conscription and pacifist candidate in one of the greatest industrial seats in the country. The Central Offices were appealed to, but in vain. There was no definite evidence of a speech on Pacifist lines made in public by Mr. Winston, and the Party Organisations were consequently tied by the Party Truce. It seemed as if the friends of Germany would have it all their own way, when suddenly the Defence Committee put forward the candidature of Mr. Charles Stanton, a Welsh miners' agent, who had been driven from his employment after more than twenty years' service and reduced to actual poverty for his loyalty to the country. Then began one of the most remarkable episodes in the whole history of electioneering.

Mr. Stanton had, of course, no organisation, no money, and no Labour M.P. dared to come down and openly support him in the face of the machine. Victor Fisher, the Honorary Secretary of the Defence Committee, went to his assistance, and these two men, with a small band of local speakers and a few hundred pounds, collected with the greatest difficulty, fought and defeated one of the finest Parliamentary machines in the country. Stanton was returned by 10,000 votes to 6,000. The results of this remarkable victory were three-fold. In the first place, the manœuvres of the pacifists were defeated; secondly, the tale that Labour in this country was opposed to conscription, on which the election was directly fought, was refuted; and thirdly, the Socialist National Defence Committee was crystallised by its success into a permanent organisation. As time went on many of its purely Socialist leaders dropped out, and finally, in April, 1916, it emerged as the British Workers' League, with John Hodge as President and Victor Fisher as Honorary Secretary. The formation of the League was formally inaugurated by a great demonstration at the Queen's Hall in May, 1916.

The League started to carry the war into the enemy's camp. The Independent Labour Party had been threatening to run candidates against the loyal Labour men, and in reply the League undertook to oppose every avowed pacifist in the country with a loyal Labour candidate at the next election, whether the League's opponents should be supported by the Labour caucus or not. A beginning was made by the nomination of Mr. J. A. Seddon, Chairman of the League, for the Hanley Division against Mr. Outhwaite, M.P., and Mr. J. F. Green against Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, M.P. for Leicester.

Early in January, 1917, the League succeeded in defeating the Pacifist resolutions of the Labour Conference at Manchester. A great campaign was gradually started in industrial centres throughout the country, and by March, 1917, there were nearly 80 branches. The first annual conference was held on March 28th, 1917, and proved a great success. It was followed on May 27th by a remarkable demonstration in Hyde Park, when many of the trade unions in London turned out with their bands and banners and marched in thousands to the French Embassy to greet the Allied Ambassadors and to mark the solidarity of Allied Labour in favour of the war.

As the breach with the Pacifist-controlled Labour Caucus widened, force of circumstances drove the League to consider very much more than its attitude on the question of the war. As soon as they began to put Parliamentary candidates in the field, they had to declare their policy after the war, and it

soon became apparent that the differences between loyal Labour and the Pacifists on these questions were quite as great as on the subject of the war itself. The leaders of the League saw that if this country is to survive after the declaration of peace, the class war will have to come to an end, and that some understanding between Capital and Labour must be reached ; and after some months' most careful consideration a definite programme was issued at the end of October, 1917, which attracted widespread attention.

Of the programme itself it is impossible to say much in this article. Briefly, it stands for a strong agricultural, educational and housing policy, and recognises the immense importance to the people of this country of the consolidation of the Empire. It advocates national control of industries which are vital to the national safety, and is in favour of considering the question of the protection of other industries if, on the merits of the particular case, good cause can be shown. Above all and before all, it calls for an honourable understanding between all sections of the community and opposes the disastrous class war.

Before this programme had been issued another attempt had been made by the Pacifists to arrange a meeting with Socialist and Labour enemy delegates at Stockholm. One of the vice-presidents of the British Workers' League is Mr. Havelock Wilson (Sailors' and Firemen's Union), and in conjunction with that Union a campaign against the proposed conference was inaugurated by the League in Trafalgar Square on June 10, 1917, and the Stockholm project was effectually disposed of by the action of the Sailors' and Firemen's Union in refusing to take any ship out of port on which Pacifist delegates were passengers.

Finance, always a difficulty in propaganda bodies, was rendered doubly difficult for the League, partly by the circumstances of its inception and composition, and also by the stern resolution of its leaders that every donor (other than the ordinary subscribers) must receive a receipt that his gift "has nothing to do with party funds, and is free of any condition whatever." The object of the receipt is obvious. It is to prevent any party caucus obtaining a financial hold, and also to insure that no wealthy donor shall try to bribe the League in favour of his particular "ism." The lessons of the results of Cocoa on Labour have been learned and digested by the British workers. Thousands of pounds have been refused owing to the form of receipt, and it augurs well for the politics of the country, and for Labour politics in particular, if the financial and political purity of this example should be copied. The difficulty of obtaining funds in sufficiently large sums from wealthy men who not only have to give without condition, but

with no means of knowing that the donations are properly applied to the aims for which the League is striving, was met by the appointment of two trustees—Messrs. Crosfield and Turnor. Colonel Crosfield, of Crosfield & Sons, of Warrington—a household name throughout Lancashire—was formerly chairman of the Liberal Party in his native town. A *persona grata* to Labour, he long ago proved that he held principles above party by helping to fight and defeat the Liberal candidate at Warrington over the question of National Service before the war. Mr. Christopher Turnor, on the other hand, is a Tory by tradition and a large landowner, but his revolutionary views on the subject of the land have long been familiar to all serious students in the Labour world. These two men, both practical and keen men of business, and both acceptable to Labour, have been from the first responsible for the finance of the League under the conditions stated. These facts have long been known to the League members, as they were published in full in the organ of the League, *The British Citizen*. An account of this paper and the work it has done, work without which the rapid growth of the League would have become impossible, deserves an article to itself. All that can be said here is that the fearless exposure of the ceaseless and ingenious machinations of the Pacifists in the *Citizen* has greatly helped to their discomfiture.

And now as to the League's present position and future prospects. The war with the extremists grows more and more bitter. Since Mr. Arthur Henderson was forced to leave the War Cabinet he has come down on the side of class war, if not openly as a whole-hearted Pacifist.

The persecution of members of the League inside the Labour Party has been redoubled. One Labour leader after another has been forced against his will to resign from the League by means of pressure brought through his trade union. "Leave the League or starve" has been in effect the order issued. And the League's answer?

Two hundred and twenty branches, and between 30 and 40 Parliamentary Labour seats which they will contest at the next election under the title of the National Democratic and Labour Party (you cannot fight an election as a League). If they succeed at the poll as they have in propaganda, we shall see after the next election a powerful Labour group, Imperialist in the best sense of the word, free of the taint of "political" money, drastic on Housing, Education, and similar questions, with an open mind on Tariffs, ready to face whatever armaments may be necessary, and determined to pull the nation together and kill class hatred and the Bolshevik folly which it entails.

CORRUPT WELT-POLITIK.

German Penetration in Italy.

I. GERMANY'S EFFORTS.

THE German has two consuming passions, practical commercial success and external political display. If, like his British rival, he had been content with power without pomp, this war would never have been fought, and our country would have paid the price of peace by commercial and political extinction. For good or ill it has fallen out otherwise, and the German system, in all its ambitious completeness, is gradually being laid bare before us. It is to collect and co-ordinate some typical details of this system, meshes in a wide-cast net, that these articles have been written. It should be understood that the statements to be made relate to a state of things existing in Italy at the outbreak of war.

The co-ordination of commercial and political effort is Germany's great idea. Hardly an act of State abroad is without an accompanying advantage to the individual trader: and all the proceedings of the individual trader are arranged to result in the glorification of the State. It is because this double head of the Teutonic vulture is so clearly displayed in her dealings with Italy that a study of the German penetration in that country is so peculiarly worth while. No department of life is neglected by the German in his efforts to gain power, but the means he has made use of in Italy, so far as they have been unearthed, can be classified as follows:

(A) Finance. (B) Aristocratic influence. (C) Democratic influence. (D) Control of the Press. (E) Consular agents acting outside their legitimate scope. (F) Educational Societies. (G) Pseudo-scientific suggestion.

These shall be dealt with in their order.

(A) Germany gave us lessons at every turn, for imitation and avoidance alternately. In her banking system we have both lessons at the same time. Perhaps the best instance for our purpose is the Elektro-Bank of Zürich. Nominally Swiss, it is really a foundation of the A.E.G. (Allgemeine Elektricitäts Gesellschaft). The head of this organisation is one Königsheim, whom G. Preziosi * describes as traversing the Alpine passes in his car, wrapped in costly furs, with a German consul at his side. Another important figure is Karl Zander. One of these two men is generally to be found on the companies controlled by the bank: the *modus operandi* being to finance businesses which require an advance, either, being prosperous, for the extension of their business, or, being in difficulties, for

* In *La Germania alla Conquista dell'Italia*, by G. Preziosi. Florence, 1916.

staving off disaster. In either case the acceptance of the bank's nominee as director, the purchase of German material, the adoption of German methods, one or all of these things is made the condition of accommodation.

Amongst the companies controlled are the Officine Elettriche Genovesi (£30,000,000); the Unione Tramways Elet. Genovesi; the Società Adriatica di Elettricità (£15,000,000), supplying power to Ferrara, Padova, Fruili, Ancona; the Società Gen. Elet. dell'Adamello, with a capital of £15,000,000; the Società El. Riviera di Ponente (£23,000,000).

Here is undoubted power, used to further German ends, all, so far, in the way of trade; but that is not the limit of its scope. The first-named of these companies, and perhaps the most important, has six German to three Italian directors; amongst the latter being Zander; and certain of the directorate are now on trial on the charge of furnishing war material to the enemy. This is not the only charge of the kind. The directors of several important houses, the leading one being Filatura Cascarni di Seta of Milan (a concern having a capital of £10,000,000, and branches at Novarra, Vigerano, Messina, etc.), are on their trial for having sent large quantities of silk waste to Germany through the Garnhandel of Zürich. The material supplied is useful for wrapping gunpowder charges, and also for aeroplane wings and Zeppelin covers. It is used as a substitute for cotton, and at the time it is alleged to have come through the Germans were running short of that much-needed material.

(B) At the head of the propagandist agents in this section we should naturally expect to find the Kaiser himself. An interesting list of his visits to persons in high quarters between 1902 and 1912 is given in *L'Invasione Tedesca in Italia*, p. 63.* Among them is included the fair Contessa Morosini, his attention to whom, at the expense of the Sindaco, was made the subject of stinging comment in the Venetian Press at the time. But that the Emperor was less of the cavalier and more of the business man than his detractors supposed is proved by an incident which happened a little later. Towards the end of the summer an Italian Admiral was calling on the Contessa, and was ungallant enough to refuse an invitation to lunch on the following day. The lady was piqued, and she applied her charms to eliciting the reason, and, so much is Mars at the mercy of Venus, succeeded in discovering that there was an important flotilla of submarines to be inspected, which everyone supposed to be far down south. Three days afterwards the Italian Minister of Marine learnt

* *L'Invasione Tedesca in Italia*, by Ezio M. Gray. Florence, 1915. (Subsequently cited as E. M. G.)

that the movements of that flotilla were being watched with an unusual degree of interest in Vienna.

There is another whom it is difficult to describe as anything else than a German agent, Senator del Camporeale, a relative of Von Bülow. When it was proposed to nominate as senator the pro-Ally editor of one of the best papers in Europe, the *Corriere della Sera*, he used all his influence against it. Finally he went to a member of the Government, and said, "Take care what you are doing! If you nominate Senator Albertini, I should not be surprised if the German or Austrian Ambassador came to the Foreign Office for an explanation; and, frankly, they would be justified."

An amusing story is told in a like connection by E. M. G.

Scene: A room in the Senate House. Senators D. and R. in conversation. To them enter General S. in a high state of excitement: "It is time to get rid of these interventionists, nationalists, and masons, who accuse everyone not on their side of having relations with the Austrian or German Embassies. It is an unworthy accusation, an iniquitous suspicion—" Enter at this point an usher, who comes to General S., and makes his bow, "A councillor of the German Embassy to speak with you, sir."

(C) It will be long, no doubt, before the Russian complication has been entirely unravelled, but it has been used to confuse the issues at least so far as Italy is concerned. It was largely due to the attitude of the Unified Socialists (known to be financially dependent on Germany) that two international labour conferences—Zimmerwald, September, 1915, and Kienthal, April, 1916—were organised. At these the Italian representatives met Lenin. The similarity of what happened, at the point where the Italian line gave way, to the Russian military debacle is far too striking for the observer not to see the German poison coming to the Isonzo line via Petrograd.

The following incidents are illuminating:

(1) The *Popolo d'Italia*, a Socialist but pro-Ally paper, discovered the fact that the directors of "Il Fabbricone," the chief business involved, had organised the strike at Prato in 1915, and agreed to indemnify their men for their loss of pay, and the *Avanti* itself (Socialist and pro-German) confessed that the strike was faked, and directed against "the few that were pro-Ally * in the city."

(2) During some demonstrations in Venice a lady with a foreign accent (can we not hear it, guttural and strident, amid the soft air of the lagoons?) cried out from the Rialto Bridge,

* The Italian terms for pro-Ally and pro-German are interventionist and neutralist respectively. Here the more familiar terms are used.

" That is not the way we go to demonstrations in our country. We go with stones, and bludgeons, and tins of kerosene."

(3) During the bread riots at Empoli and Naples many well-dressed Germans were seen judiciously posted amid the crowd.

(4) It is not without interest that the leaders of the official Socialist Party are on trial for high treason and for a subversive propaganda which included : Instigating citizens to revolt, war workers to discontinue or neglect their work, soldiers to desert. They are also charged in connection with the Turin riots of August 23rd to 26th, 1917, which resulted in great loss of life and enormous damage to property, and were largely provoked by statements about the Allies, and the English in particular, which from their nature could only have come from German sources.

(D) Operations have been attempted in four main directions :

(1) By means of communicated articles. These do not appear to have any great success, though the German consul in Venice interested himself to the extent of taking to the office of the *Gazetta* an article purporting to be the diary of a German officer. The fact emerged that the German, with all his commercial facility, only made himself ridiculous when he tried to write literary Italian. Bogus telegrams were also made use of. At a meeting of the Foreign Press in the autumn of 1914, when the German representative was proposed, his election was objected to by the Russian delegate on the ground that he was not a *bona fide* journalist, but a political agent whose business it was to distribute to newspapers telegrams supplied him from Berlin. They had in fact been offered to the *Tribuna*, and refused.

(2) By buying up existing papers. In February, 1915, an attempt was made by an Italian acting for a German group to buy up the *Corriere* of Milan, the *Stampa* of Turin, the *Tribuna* and the *Giornale d'Italia* of Rome, the effect of which would have been equivalent to German control here of the *Times*, the *Morning Post*, the *Manchester Guardian* and the *Scotsman*. The price offered was about twice the goodwill of the papers in normal times. The attempt failed, but less ambitious ones had a somewhat better success. *L'Italie*, a French daily in Rome, lost four editors in succession because of its newly acquired Germanophil policy. The change of policy of the leading Florentine daily, *La Nazione*, was made the subject of investigation by a commission of enquiry, which stated and deplored that the politics of this paper had suddenly changed to pro-German and that it had published articles edited by the German consul.

(3) By starting new papers :

L'Acquila, founded in Florence by the Austrian consul Von Pelka. The suggestive title of its first leading article was "England and the Mediterranean."

La Coerenza, Milan, founded in the course of industrial disturbances in 1915. The origin of the strike betraying itself in the organ to which it gave birth.

(4) By dominating the Press by obtaining control of the advertisement section :

A full account of the operations in Italy of the agency of Haasenstein and Vogler is told in the June number (1918) of the *Atlantic Monthly*, under the heading of "German Corruption of the Foreign Press." Epitomised the story runs as follows : A Swiss named Georg and two Germans—Haasenstein and Vogler, of Hamburg—formed an advertising agency in Switzerland in 1882. In 1885 the two Germans moved their headquarters to Berlin ; but when, five years later, the scheme of permeating Italy and France matured, it became advisable to camouflage the German control of the business, and so Haasenstein and Vogler ostensibly made over their interests in Switzerland to the now resuscitated Georg, and Geneva became the domicile of the Italian agency. The capital was fixed at 200,000 francs (say £8,000), and we must form our own opinion of the financial miracle which enabled the brothers Georg to carry on a business which amounted to £600,000 a year on this extremely modest capitalisation. This miracle is found to rival that of the loaves and fishes when we realise that the secret of the success of the agency was due very largely to the advances which it made on account of its contracts with the Italian papers whose finances were in low water. It is impossible to avoid the conclusions that the money came from Germany, and that the Italian papers which swallowed the gilded pill were at the mercy of their creditors. Branches of the agency were established in the principal Italian cities, where the management was generally entrusted to Germans. The branches at Milan, under Wunenberger and Otto Caspary ; at Rome, under George Stähle ; at Florence under Frederick Gehres ; at Genoa, under Wilhelm Obermüller ; at Naples under Hugo Schulte, are cases in point.

The powerful control which can be exercised by a large concern having a monopoly of advertising is obvious, nor is it difficult to imagine the sequel, and to estimate the important services, political, industrial, commercial, and military, which Messrs. Haasenstein and Vogler were able to render to Germany to the detriment of the country into which they had wormed their parasitic way. Before the war this German firm had succeeded

in obtaining control of the advertising pages of ninety-six newspapers in Italy. The contracts which put the Italian Press under the German yoke, forbid the insertion of anything that the agency "deems inopportune or capable of impairing the advertising value of the paper, not only on the pages devoted to advertisement, but on the editorial pages properly so called." By Article 9 of the form of contract, Messrs. Haasenstein and Vogler retain the right to admit advertisements at a reduced rate, and also "to refuse advertisements at full rates, when they do not deem it advisable to accept them," and by Article 22, "the contracting parties agree to maintain the most absolute secrecy." *

(E) Certain instances of consular meddling have already been given, but perhaps the most typical is as follows :

In 1914 a new German consulate was founded at Gardone. That does not seem a very alarming fact without a word of explanation. Gardone is a sheltered spot at the south-west corner of the largest of the Italian lakes, whose north end is in Austrian territory. Smuggling on these lakes is common and difficult to deal with. Gardone is a health resort only, and has no trade apart from that. It is filled in normal times with German and Austrian visitors, but relations with the Central Powers were getting strained, wherefore most of the foreigners had left : and for the same reason Germany was anxious to get in from Italy, by fair means or foul, all the war material she could before it was too late. If before 1914 Germany did not want a consulate there, she certainly did not need it afterwards. The so-called consulate was a smuggling headquarters, nothing more nor less, and the matter was made worse by the fact that the consul, one Teich, was director of an important Italian industrial concern which furnished war material to the Navy, and as such he had access to naval arsenals, etc.

(F) Under this head we may note :

(a) The Deutsche Schülverein, which in a few months in 1909 raised nearly 3,000,000 kronen for foreign propaganda.

(b) Verein fur das Deutschtum im Ausland. Is stated authoritatively to spend 4,000,000 marks per annum.

(G) An interesting note on this head appeared in the *Times* of April 15th. German agents, it seems, are holding occultist meetings, and, acting on information furnished them, are prophesying events whose accomplishment was not yet disclosed. These were always such as to impress the Italian mind with evidences of the German power.

Such are the facts. The application of them will be reserved for a subsequent article.

* The view of patriotic Italy of these typically Teutonic artifices is to be found in the columns of *La Sera* of July 29th, 1916.

WELFARE WORK.—II.

Some of the Causes of Its Failures.

IN a previous article on the subject of Welfare Work—considered as the conscious effort towards the employment of labour under the best possible conditions, whether physical, mental or moral—an attempt was made to demonstrate the value of the work as an indispensable part of the organisation of economical production. But if the verdict of militant Labour is to be accepted, Welfare Work has already failed and, far from being an instrument vital to the progressive interests of industry, is a menace to the solidarity of Labour, to be regarded always with suspicion, and to be endured for yet a little while mainly because it cannot easily be cured.

In examining the causes of its past, even of its present, failures, it must be borne in mind that it is not suggested that all Welfare Work has failed, or that many firms and individuals have not learned by experience how to avoid pitfalls and to utilise suggestions. Rather should it be assumed that any value the present suggestions may have is derived from the fact that they are drawn from the observation of the excellent work carried out by successful pioneers who have known where to seek the true solution of their problem, whether it presented itself to them individually as a purely commercial necessity, or as the moral obligation which their conception of justice and humanity imposed upon them.

Four years of war have contributed both directly and indirectly to bring into prominence and give new significance to a movement which, though already existing close upon one hundred years ago, had hitherto more or less escaped the contaminating breath of advertisement, thereby contriving to retain most, if not all, of its original sincerity of purpose, erring, where it did, not by reason of its impure motives, but as the inevitable result of the general lack of knowledge and the inability to get a clear conception of the just relations between all the members of a modern industrial State. The relaxation of the Factory Acts to meet the exigencies of war was not allowed to be construed into the right of Management to employ female and juvenile labour as it willed, but was accompanied by other restrictions, different from those suspended but no less vigilant in their protection of the workers where their interests might be conceived as opposed to those of the employer. Certain definite Welfare provisions and an educative campaign undertaken by the Ministry of Munitions to further non-obligatory Welfare Work were amongst such measures. A

sudden realisation of the stern reality and unnecessary bitterness of many of the workers' burdens has been the natural outcome of the recent years of hardship, devotion and sacrifice endured and offered by rich and poor, idler and worker, employer and employed in the close companionship of the trenches and the workshop.

Perhaps the most important factor determining the value of all betterment schemes is the attitude of mind in which they are approached. The genuine and well-intentioned efforts of the past have often been limited in their influence and hindered from making progress on sound lines because they have been conceived in too conscious a spirit of benevolence. It is good to feel and admit that "the labourer is worthy of his hire," but it is better to see the situation through Mr. Rudyard Kipling's eyes and to recognise that—

Beneath the sun we count on none
Our evil to assuage,
Except the men that do the work
For which they draw the wage.

Recognise that the organiser exists only by virtue of the prior existence of Labour, and it becomes convincingly obvious that what the organiser does for Labour he does in large measure for himself. But the attitude of mind with which we are far more concerned to-day is that of the man whom fear alone has urged into the movement : fear of general industrial unrest, and fear lest dissatisfaction in the works should rob his particular firm of its coming share of trade and profit. Such employers do exist, and though they are not representative of the best and largest firms in the country, they are of sufficient importance to discredit the broader attempt honestly to solve the problem of maximum conditions for Labour.

From the inability of many employers to understand the real inwardness of the situation springs a further source of failure. Unconscious of his true starting point and but dimly aware of his goal, the pioneer is too unsure and erratic in his aim. Inessentials are worked out in elaborate detail, whilst essential points which occasion the worker daily discomfort and irritation, and permanent and progressive injury and limitation, are overlooked. If the undertaker of betterment schemes would bear in mind that the Factory Act, the outcome of over a hundred years' patient observation and experiment, prescribes the *minimum essentials* to human welfare in industry, and would endeavour to move forward—a long way forward—on the lines laid down thereby, the basis of Welfare Work would be secure. Provide for the physical health and mental satisfaction of the

worker by securing the best ventilation and sanitation, lighting and heating and canteen arrangements ; by the judicious curtailment of hours and the provision of breaks wherever possible and desirable, and by the payment of wages on a basis satisfactory to the recipient. These are real and difficult problems which each firm has to face and solve for itself. Till such elementary duties are performed by the masters, they can not in justice call upon the men to contribute their full quota.

But all these things leave untouched what should be the very heart and essence of Welfare Work—the process itself. There exist to-day firms where the comfort and welfare of the worker would appear to have been studied from every point of view and lavishly provided for, which yet apparently regard, either without misgiving, or as an inevitable condition of production, the subjection of the worker to the monotonous toil of, say, smearing the surface of labels with paste, hour after hour, day after day, and year after year, so long as his or her industrial life may last. The Welfare Worker should aim at some solution of the work itself not incompatible with the general needs of industry. That excessive sub-division of process is not invariably the necessary price of commercial prosperity, nor yet an indispensable factor in maximum output, is proved on every hand by a comparison of similar firms employing dissimilar methods.

Two further common sources of failure in Welfare Work remain—the choice of administrators and the attitude of the Welfare Worker towards Trade Union interests. The importance of the first can hardly be overestimated. To engage for such work as we have outlined any man or woman who has not had, in addition to the necessary academic training, some contact with industrial life from the worker's side is, in nine cases out of ten, to court disaster. The problem cannot be adequately studied from outside. The workers' wants must be felt and experienced to some extent ; imagination cannot cover the whole field. Both theory and practice are essential to the best results ; but rather than employ the inexperienced graduate fresh from college, or the school-teacher or social worker who has had no opportunity of gathering first-hand knowledge of the working life of those whose interests he has to forward, it is safer and wiser to call in the aid of one of those workers who, though rare, are generally to be found if sought for in any large works, and whose gift of understanding and generalising individual wants enables them to do valuable work in interpreting and foreseeing needs before they become articulate.

If the Factory Act must serve as a reliable guide for general policy, any conception of Welfare Work which disregards the tenets of Trade Unionism, or which serves to lessen rather than increase the force and dignity of all that is best in the Trade Union movement, is false, and bound to fail to contribute to any genuine movement forward. If organisation be the response of the modern world to the pressure of population upon subsistence, it is good that Labour should be organised as a whole, capable of yielding quick obedience to a central controlling force. One of the Welfare Worker's greatest opportunities for contributing to general well-being lies in his ability to assist the Trade Union by hastening the education and enlightenment of its members, and by foreseeing and removing genuine grievances before they develop into cause for strike and lock-out. Trade Unions are an established fact. It is, if anything, easier to conceive of the demise of private capitalism than of that of Trade Unionism. An ignorant, discontented democracy of workers organised under one head is an incalculably dangerous force. The same body, educated and enlightened, each member confident of the fairness reigning in the conduct of his own particular industry, is our surest, indeed our only hope of a future national existence worthy of our traditions as a leader amongst peoples.

Once rooted in sound principles, Welfare Work, if it is to achieve its real end, must go forward to the solution of detailed problems, such, for instance, as the smoke nuisance and the housing question—problems which the factory itself has created and must solve. It may be argued that such matters are national concerns, to be dealt with by legislation and Public Health authorities. It must, however, be remembered that laws do but follow in the wake of private experiment, enforcing generally such minimum conditions as society determines it must have. Just as the textile manufacturers of the early nineteenth century, by tackling and solving their problem of apprentice labour, determined the form of successive Factory Acts, so to-day the manufacturer who alone is in close practical contact with the difficulty he has created must lead the way in demonstrating how the work of competitive production can be carried on without the sacrifice of human life and strength that is involved in the workers living in overcrowded and insanitary cottages, huddled beneath a never-lifting pall of smoke, close around the works which provide their daily bread, but starve them of all that makes life good—sunshine and air, cleanliness and decency, sound health and the sane incentive to a useful life which the possession of some measure of inner freedom alone can give.

THE RANK AND FILE MOVEMENT. Part VIII.

It will be remembered that the Trade Card Scheme was instituted by the Government with the object of minimising friction due to the application of the Military Service Act. The privilege of issuing these Trade Cards to their members was accorded to the A.S.E. and allied Unions. Altogether about a score of societies enjoyed this advantage. The very natural sequel to this arrangement was that the Trade Unions excluded therefrom soon began to clamour for admission to the charmed circle. Agitation against the favouritism of the Trade Card Scheme was led by the Workers' Union, whose members, especially in the Midlands, threatened to strike unless their society was recognised and given privileges equal to those accorded to the A.S.E. This placed the Government in a dilemma. To refuse the demands of the W.U. was to risk a stoppage of work amongst a large section of semi-skilled labour, the A.S.E. showed themselves determined to oppose abrogation, whilst the alternative of extending the privilege to all the Unions would be to defeat the Man-power objects of the Military Service Act.

Eventually it was decided that the Trade Card Scheme must go, and its place be taken by what was called "The Schedule of Protected Occupations Scheme." Directly this decision was arrived at, the leaders of the Rank and File Movement made up their minds to use it as a lever and set to work to organise discontent throughout the A.S.E. The rebel element announced that a general strike would be called as soon as any skilled men were taken for the Army under the new system. In this attitude of defiance Erith, where the Rank and File Movement was strongly represented, took the lead and circularised Sheffield, Barrow, Coventry, Manchester, Liverpool, the Clyde area, and other industrial centres, urging the presentation of a united front against the Governmental proposals. This circular letter, which was dated April 24th, 1917, and signed by the same Mr. W. Howell, whose visit to the interned Germans at Hackney was recently referred to in *Food for Thought*, declared: "As far as Erith is concerned, we are absolutely determined not to allow any breakage of the [Trade Card] Agreement, and though we hope for a settlement as a result of the negotiations between the delegates and the Ministry, we are in favour of a down-tools policy should they fail." London, Barrow, Luton, Sheffield, Manchester, Coventry,

Crayford, Woolwich and other places endorsed the attitude taken up by Erith and promised solidarity.

A series of meetings were held under the auspices of the Rank and File Movement in all the usual storm-centres. Barrow passed a resolution: "That this mass meeting, representative of all the Unions, feels with regret that the promises made by the Government are something akin to scraps of paper. . . . We are not prepared to accept the decision of the War Office, and drastic action will be taken all over the country if the Government take skilled men out of the engineering trades into the Army." At Sheffield a unanimous resolution was carried against the withdrawal of the Trade Card Scheme, undertaking, if the Government broke its agreement, to cease work and to utilise the whole resources of the Society "in the event of action." On the previous day a similar meeting had been held at Plumstead at which it was agreed to "down tools" if any exempted men were taken for military service, and to bring out the whole of the workers throughout the country. May Day was celebrated at a gathering at the Holborn Hall, where revolutionary speeches showing a desire to cause trouble were indulged in.

The actual strike outbreak, originally planned for May 1st, was delayed owing to the Government postponing the operation of the debadging order for six days, and the interval was made the most of by the fraternity of agitators. Manchester, being already out on the dilution question, became the general headquarters of the movement, and delegates and messengers to and from the other affected areas were daily arriving and departing. On May 5th an important conference of the leaders was opened at the Clarion Café, Manchester. The proceedings were secret, and no account has ever been published, nor is the meeting ever referred to in the official reports issued by the Amalgamation Committee. It is believed, however, that Macmanus (Clyde), Watson (London), Morton (Barrow), McLaine, Peet, and Kealey (Manchester) were amongst those present, and we may assume, without doing these worthies an injustice, that their deliberations were not conducted with a view to conciliation. We may go further and say that then and there the finishing touches were given to a deliberate plan of campaign, the object of which was to involve the whole of the engineering industry in a national strike.

On the day following—*i.e.*, Sunday, May 6th—a demonstration organised by the Herald League and supported by the I.I.P., U.D.C., B.S.P., and allied societies, was held in Finsbury Park, where W. F. Watson, Tom Mann, and other Rank and

File leaders spoke to large crowds from four platforms. Watson, who had hurried back from Manchester, announced that on that day meetings were taking place all over the country to consider what action should be taken. "Already," he said, "fifty thousand engineers have downed tools," and he predicted serious trouble in the next few days if the Government persisted in withdrawing the Trade Card Scheme—a policy which he described as being tantamount to the introduction of Industrial Conscription. Watson also spoke on the need for international solidarity as the only means of preventing European war, and added that in his reference to international organisation, "he included, of course, their German comrades. When the workers understood international and class solidarity they would refuse to become soldiers or to make munitions." Speaking from another platform was W. N. Ewer, of the National Guilds League, who dealt mainly with the Russian Revolution, and expressed his opinion that "we want a revolution here right away. We won't wait till the end of the war."

Tom Mann repeated his Holborn Town Hall oration—Mrs. Ewer said that there would be no room for conscientious objectors when the revolution began; and Mrs. Bessie Ward told her hearers that "our cynical Government would continue the war until pestilence and famine covered the whole of Europe so long as the struggle was profitable to the capitalistic and ruling classes. The workers had supported the war far too long, and it was time they took action to stop it."

It would be tedious to recount all the extravagances of all the many speakers, but it is important to call attention to the fact that the notorious strike of engineers in May, 1917, was not attributable to any dispute between employers and employed on a trade question, nor was it the outcome of any quarrel between the Government and the concerned Trade Unions. Rather was it the product of a combination of anti-national factionalists—viz., the I.L.P., U.D.C., B.S.P., Herald League and allied defeatist bodies organised for the occasion by the leaders of the Rank and File Movement to take advantage of a favourable opportunity which had arisen in the engineering industry owing to the Man-power proposals of the Government. Though it would not be correct to say that the driving force behind all this welter of agitation was consciously pro-German, it cannot be denied that this element was strongly and noisily represented at the mass meetings which were held to popularise the coming strike. It must remain a matter of conjecture to what extent the secret conferences and the underground manipulation which arranged the public meetings were dominated by those who for some reason or another wish for a German peace.

Whilst the unofficial influences behind the strike movement were leaving nothing to chance in their efforts to increase the prevailing industrial unrest, the Government and the A.S.E. Executive were engaged in a series of conferences with the object of arriving at a compromise which would furnish the quota of men demanded by the national emergency without injuring the legitimate requirements of the engineering industry.

On May 5th the delegates of the A.S.E. and the Ministry of Munitions came to an agreement whereby the former accepted the terms of the new Schedule, which had already been approved by most of the other Trade Unions. In accordance with this arrangement the A.S.E. Executive telegraphed to the Rochdale strikers urging an immediate return to work. In defiance of this message the strike movement—now entirely unofficial and unsupported by any Trade Union—continued to grow and to spread from district to district. On May 10th a conference, representing about fifty Engineering and Shipbuilding Unions, was held at the Ministry of Munitions. After Mr. Henderson, who presided, had expounded the advantages of the Munitions of War (Amendment) Bill, a resolution was passed deplored existing strikes and formulating the opinion that in war-time all trade disputes should be dealt with in a constitutional manner. Thereupon a committee was appointed to examine the situation in detail and to suggest amendments to the Bill before its submission to the House of Commons.

On May 11th the Government issued a warning to strikers, threatening rigorous prosecution under the D.R.R. of all persons guilty of inciting others to stop or delay work on munitions. The Manchester strikers replied by telegram, repudiating in the name of the Joint Engineering Shop Stewards' Committee any interference by the Official Executive. On May 16th a secret conference, attended by about one hundred delegates, was held by the strike leaders in the Socialists' Hall, Walworth, and a letter signed by W. F. Watson, George Peet, William McLaine, David Ramsey, E. Airey, and others, was sent to Dr. Addison asking that a deputation of strikers' representatives should be received at the Ministry of Munitions. Dr. Addison, however, refused to meet any deputation not accompanied or authorised by their Trade Union executive.

On May 17th Mr. W. C. Anderson, M.P., complained in the House of Commons that the Minister of Munitions had aggravated matters by his refusal to negotiate, and Dr. Addison replied in a long speech defending his refusal to deal direct with unauthorised factions except in the presence of their official executives.

SOME VIEWS OF THE MINORITY PRESS.

The term "Minority Press" is here used to describe those weekly newspapers and monthly publications which, either wholly or in part, ventilate opinions which are both opposed to the general War and Reconstruction policy of the Coalition Government and antagonistic to the views of the great majority of the citizens of the British and Allied nations. Few of our readers can have the time or the inclination to wade through the mass of this voluminous and provocative literature, but it is a matter of some importance, nevertheless, that the gospel as preached by Pacifists, Syndicalists and Internationalists should not be altogether ignored by those who wish to understand, and to combat, defeatist tendencies. We propose, therefore, to give a short monthly summary of the principal points as developed in typical articles in the "Minority Press."

It is instructive to note the similarity of comment of all the units of the Minority Press with regard to peace questions, and to a less extent with regard to industrial policy. The fact that sometimes the phrasing is verbally identical suggests the operations of a central clearing house from which the interested parties are provided with material for propaganda on standard lines. For example, the Austrian Emperor's letter, the Irish Plot, the Admiralty Dockyard Scheme, all call forth precisely the same comments.

The condemnation of the Government and its policy is universal. Ramsay Macdonald, in *Forward*, May 4th, writes: "If the Government is to last much longer the nation will be ruined." *The Call*, May 30th, states that Lloyd George continues to "drag the country to disrepute and disaster" because there is no one to give "a real lead to the masses." Lansbury, writing in *The Herald*, June 8th, urges the workers to find an alternative to the present Government and to substitute one which will "get rid of the class war by substituting for capitalism and wage-slavery co-operative ownership by the workers for the workers," and he concludes that Lloyd George and his friends "are not the men for the job." He also voices the opinion that if we cannot find any man more capable than the present Prime Minister we might try a woman. *Justice*, June 6th, has a leading article on the collapse of Lloyd George, and states that we shall lose the war if he continues in office. The writer demands a Committee of Public Safety, and proposes a referendum on the subject. He says: "Mr. Lloyd

George's Administration has utterly failed and may come down with a crash at any moment."

The avowed object of all these papers is the abolition of the Capitalist system. *The Call* has a series of articles by Walton Newbold to prove that the war will be the beginning of the end of Capitalism and private ownership. The *Woolwich Pioneer* reports a lecture by Mayes, of Woolwich, in the course of which he states that the democratic control of industry, which is one of the aims of the Labour Party, cannot be achieved while we have a capitalist system based on production for profit. W. F. Watson, writing in the *Workers' Dreadnought*, May 25th, reiterates the well-known fact that the ultimate aim of his amalgamation movement is to abolish the "wage-system" and to obtain complete control of the industry. The basis of the movement is the class struggle, and it will definitely wage "war on Capitalism and its Executive, the State." In the *Spur* for June the Editor, Guy Aldred, thinks that the workers can obtain all they want without bothering about votes and Parliament. He does not believe in bombs, but the workers should be so organised that they can "exercise violence if necessary," and they should be prepared for "a thorough and complete repudiation of all ruling class authority."

Most of the Pacifist papers support the idea of a League of Nations, but they are almost unanimous in the opinion that such a league should not be formed until "the hour of Peace," since if Germany is left out the League would be yet another combination of the Allies against the Central Powers. Brailsford states in the *Herald* (June 8th) that a peace which failed to give Germany access to the world's steel and raw materials "would be the most disastrous of all possible defeats." The writer of the leading article in the same issue suggests that no great harm would come to Europe and the Allies if Germany were victorious, and he says that every sane person believes in a negotiated peace when the Allies are advancing, "then why not when the Germans are advancing?" He states that the conditions for a satisfactory peace are not affected in any way by the fluctuations of military fortune.

There have lately been several indications that the Pacifist Press wishes to convey the impression that France would, if occasion arose, be ready to make a separate peace. Philip Snowden, writing in the *Labour Leader*, June 6th, instances the French agreement with Germany over the exchange of prisoners "without the knowledge of Great Britain," and he deduces that if the French Government will enter into negotiations with the enemy over one thing, there is nothing to prevent them

doing it in regard to other matters if they should consider it advantageous to themselves.

The same impression is conveyed by the Leeds *Citizen*, June 7th, which states that Paris, far from being calm, as stated by the Allied Press, is being deserted by thousands, and as the German guns get nearer the signing of a separate peace will not be an improbable event.

The *Herald*, June 17th, has a long article on this subject by Robert Dell, the Paris correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, who was expelled from France. He suggests that our Press is misrepresenting the attitude of the French towards the war, who are, he says, "no longer prepared to go on fighting for the moon." He also says that the workers of France are thoroughly dissatisfied with the whole of the Allied Governments, who are thought to be missing all their opportunities for making peace. There are some significant points in this article which will repay more than a cursory examination.

(1) There is an evident desire to sow dissension and distrust among the Allies. This is characteristic of enemy propaganda in all hostile countries.

(2) The account given of the particular Trades and Unions affected by a series of strikes in France is reminiscent of the Rank and File movement in this country. The reasons put forward for these strikes are the same as those on which Direct Action has been advised here. The date fixed for a British strike of engineers—viz., February 12th—coincided with the climax of a strike movement in Germany; we are now told that the French strikes were due to the Austrian Peace proposals.

(3) All the "facts" in these "revelations" from France are supplied by persons who are (a) known to be more or less hostile to the Allies, or (b) associated with defeatist movements in Allied and Neutral countries. Dell is a friend of Jean Longuet (who again is a friend of Messrs. Morel and Ramsay Macdonald) and of Merriheim, late Labour correspondent of the *Labour Leader*, who is said to have tried to start a branch of the U.D.C. in Paris. In this connection it may be mentioned that the text of the "Secret Treaties" was sent to the *Manchester Guardian* by Phillips Price, a member of the Council of the U.D.C.

(4) The arguments in this and similar articles in Pacifist papers at this particular juncture seem to be intended to prepare the public for the new "Peace Offensive" which is shortly expected from the Central Powers. The suggestion that even Clemenceau is ready to give favourable consideration

to any new offer from Germany is no doubt calculated to create a more receptive mood in this country and to prepare the way for the peace desired by Germany and the U.D.C.

M. Clemenceau is proclaimed by a large section of the Pacifist Press as a stumbling block to any consideration of peace by the French, and Philip Snowden, in the *Labour Leader*, May 28th, attacks the French and Italian Governments in an especially offensive article. He says we are dominated by our Allies, and should refuse to waste time and money realising their ambitions. Macdonald, in *Forward*, May 4th, says that the French Socialists believe that the Emperor Karl "was quite sincere in his desire for peace," and that "an opportunity of ending the war in a satisfactory way was lost." He suggests that the British Government took a serious view of the proposals, but that negotiations were brought to an end by Clemenceau, who either did not know, or did not approve, of the proposals. *Forward*, May 4th, suggests that Clemenceau, Sonnino and Lloyd George kept secret the facts of the Austrian Peace offer because they were afraid that the terms would be accepted by Wilson, Kerensky and the King of the Belgians. This idea is supported by Philip Snowden in the *Labour Leader* (May 9th), by *Common-sense* (May 11th), by the *Call* (May 16th), and by the *Herald* (May 25th).

The opinion of the Pacifist Press on the subject of the Irish arrests is absolutely unanimous. They all demand a public trial, stating that the word of the Government as to the existence of a German plot is insufficient. Some papers even suggest that the man in the Tower was a Government agent provocateur (*Workers' Dreadnought*, June 1st), others that a Government agent was placed on the coast of Clare to give substance to the story of a German plot (*Forward*, June 8th).

These papers are also in complete agreement concerning the application of conscription to Ireland, which, they say, would be heading for disaster. Miss Sylvia Pankhurst (in the *Workers' Dreadnought*) says the Irish have a right to entire independence and to become "a self-governing community unattached to any Empire." In support of this view she quotes Trotsky's pamphlet, "War and Revolution," which has just been issued by the S.L.P. The articles in the *Daily News* by Ransome are also quoted to prove how successfully (*sic*) the Bolsheviks are managing the affairs of Russia.

The Government comes in for a good deal of criticism on the subject of the Whitley Report. In the *Herald*, May 4th, Robert Williams condemns the report and suggests that employers are supporting it because they are in a blue funk.

Though the papers do not approve of the report themselves they condemn the Government for not adopting it in their own departments. The Admiralty Scheme for Dockyard Committees is generally condemned by all the papers, and is described as an attempt "to wean the dockyard employees from the Trade Unionism that they have so largely adopted." (*New Statesman*, June 1st.)

The *Herald* and the *Labour Leader* continue to publish articles on Home Rule for India, and the follies of British Rule in India, by Ramsay Macdonald and St. Nihil Singh.

The Pacifist tone of these papers is as marked as ever, and the Government is universally abused for having neglected the opportunities for making peace at Stockholm at the time of the Austrian Emperor's letter, and, from the more advanced writers, even at Brest-Litovsk.

The new German offensive is stated to be due entirely to the refusal of the Allied Governments to consider peace proposals from the Central Powers, and the complete downfall of Russia is attributed to the failure of the Allies to adopt Bolshevism and join with Russia in an attempt to make general peace. The Allies are accused of fighting, not for Belgium or Democracy, but for territorial and commercial advantages to which they have no moral right.

Lord Lansdowne is generally extolled, and the advantages of a Lansdowne Government are said to be that it would change the attitude of the German people, and a "diplomatic offensive would soon enable us to reach Berlin," and "Clemenceau would speedily give place to a more pacific Premier." (*Socialist Review*.) Sylvia Pankhurst, on the other hand, writing in the *Workers' Dreadnought*, repeatedly warns her readers against the danger of trusting a reactionary like Lansdowne.

All these papers are constantly urging the necessity of not "crippling" Germany, and of assuring the German democracy that our war is not with them, but with the capitalists of all the belligerent nations. The *Humanist* for June has "no feelings of ill-will against the people of Germany," and says, "The war is not theirs, any more than it is the war of our own people."

Ramsay Macdonald, in the *Socialist Review* (April-June quarter) makes the important announcement that the War Aims Memorandum of the Labour Party is not the "irreducible minimum" in Peace Terms. It is merely a basis for negotiation, and is addressed to the democracy of the belligerent nations over the heads of their Governments.

THE INDUSTRIAL LEAGUE.

THE aim of "The Industrial League" is to bring the employer and employed together in an atmosphere conducive to a calm and fruitful discussion of industrial problems in which they are mutually interested. Its functions being purely educational it will take no part in trade disputes other than placing any of the information in its possession at the disposal of the Employers' Associations and Trade Unions.

The League will do everything in its power to counteract prejudice and misrepresentation tending to embitter the relations between employer and employed and will combat all attempts to disturb industrial harmony.

Those responsible for the formation of the Industrial League take a serious but not pessimistic view of the situation now confronting British industry. They recognise that the war will leave us with a heavy load of debt, and that reconstruction will be a very costly affair. If these financial burdens are to be sustained our rate of wealth production must be greatly increased. This result cannot be achieved if the mass of the workers are dissatisfied, and it is therefore the primary object of the League to prepare the ground for reconstruction by clearing away suspicion and distrust; for without the loyal and efficient co-operation of employers and workers the nation will drift towards economic disaster.

The Industrial League refrains from committing itself at the present stage to a rigid declaration of policy, but it supports, in principle, the formation of National and District Councils and Workshop Committees. It advocates shorter but more productive hours of labour, a generous scale of remuneration based on payment by results over and above the minimum rate of pay. It stands for better housing and improved educational opportunities. It emphasises the necessity for efficient and humane management and calls for a high standard in those workshop conditions which affect the health, safety, comfort and decency of the workers.

The headquarters of the Industrial League are at 56, Victoria Street, S.W.1. The Executive Committee includes amongst its twelve members the Minister of Labour, the Parliamentary Secretary of the Board of Trade, and the General Secretary of the A.S.E. The honorary secretaries are Messrs. H. Scholey and John Ames and the honorary treasurers Messrs. G. T. Wardle, M.P., and Lee Murray.

FOOD FOR THOUGHT.

At the time of writing a full report of the proceedings at the Labour Conference, held during the last week in June, is not available. From the newspapers we glean quite sufficient, however, to recognise that the strings which actuated the marionettes were pulled as usual by the professional hand of the I.L.P. experts. This accounts for the atmosphere of unreality which prevailed at the meeting as well as for the absence of anything resembling the true British ring. The Henderson-Kerensky episode has been described as being "a perfect performance from the trap-door to the kiss."



Whilst the units of real Labour—that is to say, the able-bodied and able-minded citizens of the Empire—are fighting on land, at sea, and in the air, or toiling in shipyard, workshop, field or office, political Labour meets in conference and passes resolutions. To what end? To help the Government to win the war? No such effort was in evidence. To confer with delegates from the Dominions? Nothing of the sort; for neither Australasians, Canadians nor Africanders were in attendance.



It is true that an elaborate scheme of reconstruction, on a class basis, was laid before the Conference by the Executive, but, as the *Manchester Guardian* observes, "the delegates cannot be said to have shown more than a lukewarm interest in most of the twenty-seven resolutions." Interviewed at the close of the Conference, M. Albert Thomas regretted that the Socialists when discussing great questions of reconstruction had not taken into account the fact of the war nor its immediate consequences.



Notwithstanding an excess of I.L.P. stage management, many good things were said and some shrewd blows struck at the Conference. The spirited reply which the Minister of Pensions aimed at the "snipers" who told him to "get out of the Government" must be recorded. "This," said Mr. Barnes, "is the culminating act engineered by those who have taken advantage of every grievance, real or imaginary, during the last three years, who have trotted out imaginary secret treaties, and tales of financiers' meetings abroad, who have taken advantage of war-weariness, and done every mortal thing within their power to separate the people from those who

are prosecuting this war. I am for this war, whether in the Government or out of the Government."



The foreign delegates who filled so large a place in the bill, but who, however "distinguished" or "fraternal" they may be, have certainly no mandate to speak for British Labour, showed nevertheless to advantage. The extremists cannot have been too well pleased at some of the utterances of these imported Balaams. M. Vandervelde, for example, spoke with sense and feeling when he said, "In this hour of supreme anxiety, when the fate of democracy is at stake, I cannot think of Stockholm or Berne; I think of Calais, Amiens and Paris, and of the millions of our soldiers who are standing like a living wall against the invader and fighting for the liberty of the world." M. Branting, also, delivered himself of an unpalatable truth when he admitted in an interview that the present moment would be ill-chosen for a meeting of the International Socialist Congress.



The ungracious reception given to Kerensky is said to have been due to resentment over the Government's refusal to allow the Dutch Socialist Troelstra to come to England. If this is so, it only proves how abnormal is the nervous tension in certain quarters. A month ago not one Englishman in ten thousand had ever heard of this particular Dutchman, and to-day he is applauded for no better reason than that he is somewhat vaguely credited with a spice of "pro-Germanism."



But, if Kerensky's choice of his first audience in England was in many respects unfortunate, we all owe him a debt of gratitude for the straight speaking which marked his utterance. His speech ought to be translated verbatim and read by every soul in the United Kingdom, including the interned Sinn Feiners. The object lesson that he drove home in exposing the fraudulent manœuvres of the dictators of the Brest-Litovsk treaty cannot fail to influence even the most gullible of our apologists. Let these words, and all that they imply, sink into the minds of those who delude themselves into believing that Germany's alleged olive branches lack poisonous thorns to whomsoever they may be offered. "The treacherous calls of peace by Germany were not unmasked, and the mass of the Russian soldiers, incited by genuine fanatics and by German agents, were taken in by the false appeals only to experience on their own backs the bitterness of a German peace."

Turning to the Russian Bolsheviks and their sympathisers in this country, Kerensky went on, "To my astonishment, some very serious European political men consider the régime as democratic which has dispersed the constituent assembly, abolished the freedom of speech, has made human life the easy prey of every Red Guardsman, and that has destroyed the liberty of the elections even in the councils of the workmen, that has made an end of all institutions of self-government elected by universal suffrage. If this method of dealing with the population may be considered democratic, then I may be permitted to ask what may be the essence and the characteristic features of genuine reaction? The Bolsheviks . . . claim that the present state of Russia is a dictatorship of the proletariat, although the most ruthless oppression is applied against the Democratic and Socialist parties in Russia and the toiling masses. War has been organised against the helpless population, and every Russian citizen who refuses to recognise this method of government as perfect is declared a counter-revolutionary. That is the position of affairs for Russia."



Our native tendency is to look upon oppressed foreigners as heroes, and we must be on our guard not to lose our heads over Kerensky. His sincerity is undoubted and his powers of oratory immense; but, to quote his own words, "The motives of men are of no importance—it is the actual results of their actions that matter." Judged by this standard, Kerensky is that most dangerous type of demagogue who readily excites passions which he cannot control, and who does an immensity of harm in the hope that something good, but indefinite and inconsequential, may come of it.



We may have been over-sanguine in assuming that gullibility has its limits, and must make an exception in favour of Messrs. Arthur Ponsonby and E. D. Morel, whose pamphlet entitled "Peace Overtures and their Rejection," published (as might be supposed) by the U.D.C., has the face—or perhaps we should say the impertinence—to suggest that the Allied Governments have "turned down" nine *bona-fide* offers of "peace with honour."



It is but seldom that we find ourselves in agreement with Messrs. Ramsay Macdonald and W. C. Anderson, but we have no quarrel with the following:—"It is a vital part of reconstruction," said the member for Leicester, "to increase the national output, and this^{must} be done by eliminating every

kind of inefficiency and waste, improved scientific methods of production and improved organisation generally. It must not be obtained by sweating the workers." Nor do we disagree with Mr. Anderson when he says: " If the employers want to involve this country in a huge industrial struggle, the best way for them to do it is to take every opportunity of reducing wages while the cost of living remains high." Increased output and high wages can be secured without much difficulty given three conditions—viz., a victorious conclusion of the war, co-operation between employers and employed, and the cessation of ca' canny. If Messrs. Anderson and Macdonald will use their influence to promote these desiderata they would be well employed.



Mr. Arthur Henderson came badly out of the Conference and exhibited himself for what he is—that is to say, an electioneering agent with a considerable faculty for party intrigue, which he mistakes for statesmanship. His attempts to manœuvre himself out of a false position were ingenious but thin, and Messrs. Hodge, Barnes and Clynes took his measure without difficulty. Unfortunately their offer to resign their seats and test national opinion by seeking re-election elicited no response from the defeatist group, whose enthusiasm for facing the music varies in inverse ratio to its proximity.



It is said that Councillor H. E. Witard, who is to stand at Norwich as Mr. Henderson's nominee against the Minister of Labour, was the representative for East Anglia on the abortive British Soviet which was inaugurated at the Leeds Convention in June, 1917, under the title of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates Council. We again remind Mr. Henderson of his pledge "to fight strenuously" against this specific influence.



What may prove a departure of the first importance was inaugurated at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on June 29th, when 400 delegates adopted a resolution for submission to the Trade Union Congress in September. This resolution declared in favour of a distinct political Labour Party for the Trade Union movement based on the representation of, and controlled by, Congress. The most prominent supporters who attended the preliminary meeting were Messrs. W. J. Davis, Havelock Wilson, Victor Fisher, J. A. Seddon, and J. B. Williams. If the Labour members now in the Government come into line with the new party, an organisation with vast potentialities for good will result, and one which will be representative

enough to act as a rallying point for all that is best in the Labour world. We are convinced that the backing which such a combination would receive from the silent majority would surprise even the most sanguine supporter of the new movement.



The reason why patriotic workers allow themselves to be run by the I.L.P. with its revolutionary, pacifist and syndicalist partialities, is not because they like it, but because it holds the field. In the kingdom of the blind the one-eyed man is king. Let a patriotic party with the Trade Unions behind it come boldly into the open, and the elaborate box of tricks, which has so long exploited the easy-going Labour public, will become transparent, and consequently ineffective.



As Prime Minister during the first two and a half years of the war Mr. Asquith is under no delusions as to the delicacy of the task of determining what ought to be disclosed and what ought to be kept back. He can appreciate, as few can do, "the considerations which often make for economy and reserve of statement," but in his judgment "we have reached a stage of the war when far more is to be gained than is to be lost by laying before our own people all the actualities, be they favourable or adverse, of an unexampled situation." Mr. Asquith was referring mainly to the external and military situation, but the need for frankness is even more pronounced in the domestic and civilian sphere. The habit of arbitrary secretiveness, which is as unnecessary as it is aggravating, has settled like a blight upon the bureaucratic world, with the result that "low intelligence and high credulity" are more and more usurping the place that belongs to reason. You can ration stomachs with advantage, but not brains. If active-minded people are denied the opportunity of arriving at sound conclusions based on a knowledge of the facts, they will form opinions which, because they are founded on false premises, will inevitably warp the judgment of the nation. The longer the public are kept in the dark the greater becomes the divergence between reality and opinion.



At this crisis in our history we require every bit of information that may safely be imparted, not for the satisfaction of curiosity, but for the basis of considered judgment. Our complaint is that secrecy has become a habit, and is too often maintained for no sufficient or essential reason. The minor custodians of official secrets are many, but so far as we are

aware there is no superior authority whose business it is to survey the whole field and release for public consumption that which ought to be known. It must often happen that events and circumstances which are vitally confidential at one period might advantageously be disclosed at a subsequent date, but under our present system the general and unintelligent rule obtains that what was once a secret must always remain in that category. It is easy to imagine situations in which most serious consequences to the nation might develop owing to this mechanical suppression of a set of facts, apparently unimportant at the time, but of intense significance when viewed in conjunction with subsequent modifications. Not a little of the prevalent industrial unrest is directly and demonstrably attributable to ill-conceived and misdirected secretiveness.



The German Socialist, Edouard Bernstein, writing in the Hungarian paper, *Világ*, discusses the contention, so dear to our Pacifists and Syndicalists, that the war was brought about by the economic antagonism between the capitalistic interests of Germany and Britain. He declares that in 1914 Anglo-German economic rivalry was on the eve of settlement by peaceful means, and quotes an article from the *Berliner Tageblatt* advocating the mutual capitalistic participation of both countries in the future economic development of the world. This article, "Weltfragen," is by the well-known writer, Dr. Felix Pirner, and throws an interesting light on the point of view of a not unimportant German group. Dr. Pirner suggests that British capital should be employed in German factories because their intellectual equipment is superior and their development more rapid—at the same time he would like to see the employment of German capital in the British production of raw materials. Altogether apart from the question of the British disinclination to afford Germany any avoidable opportunity of exploiting British industry, it is very doubtful whether the internationalisation of capital would make for better relations. Dr. Pirner remarks that national aspirations, geographical conditions, political complications and personal influence will always outweigh purely economic considerations, and he points out that Germany went to war with Russia, Italy and Rumania in spite of the fact that their economic interests were not antagonistic. Therefore, argues Bernstein, we must not look for the origin of the Great War amongst capitalistic objectives, and adds that in any case the responsibility does not rest with Great Britain and her Allies.

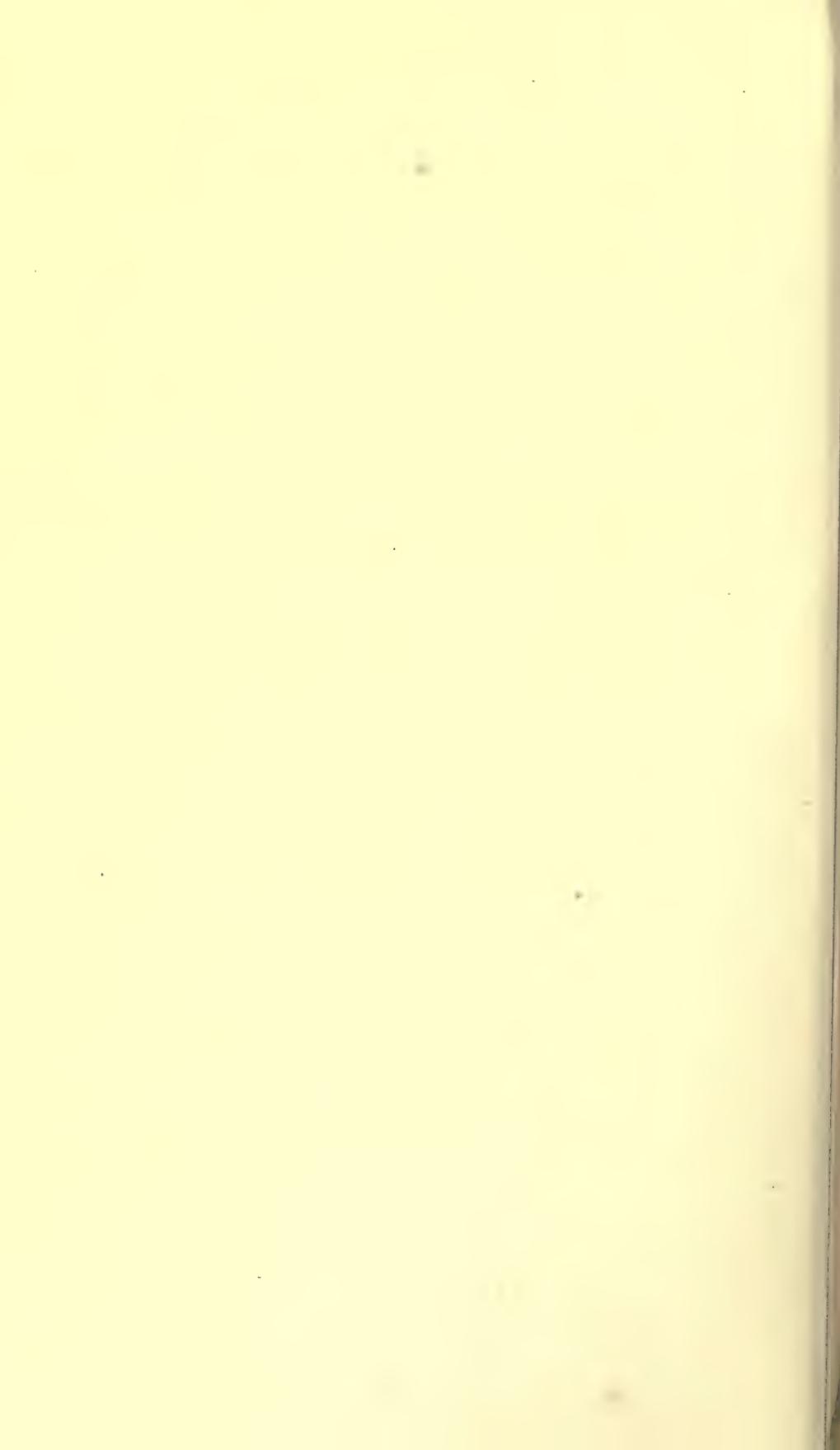
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“Fidelity to the general interest
is the basis of citizenship.”

—*The Observer.*



INDUSTRIAL PEACE

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INDUSTRIAL PEACE

SEEDTIME AND HARVEST.

THE last month of the fourth year of war, which, judging by many indications, may well prove the turning point in the military fortunes of the Allies, has been marked by an untoward set-back in the domestic sphere of industrial harmony. The fact that any relaxation of tension on the Western Front is accompanied by a recrudescence of the strike fever amongst munition workers is regarded in some quarters as a coincidence which is interesting but of no great significance. In our view this inter-relation between the fluctuations in the military situation and the ebb and flow of the outward signs of industrial unrest is of cardinal importance and throws a flood of light on the true inwardness of the forces which inspire and control the springs of militant labour. If our estimate of the position is the right one, it augurs ill for the future, for we cannot afford to purchase industrial peace at the cost of military disaster, and a victory which entails the triumph of industrial anarchy is a menace hardly less formidable in its consequences than defeat at the hands of Germany.

At first sight* it would appear as if the forces of patriotism on the one hand and of internal dissension on the other are so nearly balanced that the latter can only be kept within bounds in those dark periods during which the German star is manifestly in the ascendant and when the greater preoccupation of anxiety for the safety of our armies overcomes, for a space, an everyday tendency towards quarrelsome self-seeking. It is a symptom of national deterioration when frantic appeals have to be made to the patriotic instincts of the majority in order to prevent the unpatriotic action of the few. In the early days of the war, when the national vision was unobscured and patriotism was taken for granted, the sort of appeal which is now resorted to with increasing frequency would have been regarded as an insult by the masses of the people. Already it is taken as a matter of course, and, unless a change for the better soon asserts itself, the efficacy of reactions (which savour overmuch of death-bed repentances) will become increasingly less able to restrain the forces that are bent on undermining the good citizenship of our people.

The enforced appeal to patriotism, as an antidote to industrial

* In reality the forces are far from equal, but an energetic minority which has the courage of its opinions may prevail against an apathetic majority which is afraid to defend itself.

unrest, is not only unworthy of our great traditions, it is also at the best but a makeshift expedient that becomes less potent at every successive emergency in which its aid is invoked. As the Prime Minister has said, "If we sow the seeds of discontent and dissension in the nation, we shall reap defeat." These are the seeds which, alas, have been, and are still being, sedulously sown by Pacifists and Syndicalists in too many parts of the kingdom. When strikes in munitions works break out in war-time the public is shocked out of its normal complacency and people exercise much ingenuity in looking for a satisfactory explanation and in attempting to apportion the blame for a state of affairs that seems so incomprehensible. The real cause is not far to seek, for the connection between the work of the agitator and industrial unrest is as intimate as that between the flour, the yeast, the oven and the resulting loaf of bread. If you tell the people continually that the Government is not to be trusted, that the Ministers of the Crown are liars, if you teach them that the country's cause is unrighteous, if you bring them to believe that the prolongation of the war, as well as its origin, is to be found in the greed of capitalists, and if you persistently parade the bogey of industrial conscription, you cut at the roots of national discipline, and you would be greatly surprised if the plant of patriotism failed to wither. We doubt whether the general newspaper-reading public have any conception either of the extent or of the virulence of the anti-national propaganda that floods the country. When some provocative speech, some suggestive article, comes to the notice of the man in the street, he is apt to dismiss it as trivial or absurd, forgetting that it was framed by an expert in the art of appealing to the prejudices of those who have neither the training, the desire, nor the leisure to be critical and who are ignorant of logic. Moreover, the desired result is calculated to mature only after a course of this kind of medicine, when taken in homeopathic doses, spread over a considerable period of time.

As war-weariness increases the number of persons inoculated with the virus of discontent grows, and little by little the centre of gravity moves almost insensibly away from the moderate, and towards the extreme, point of view. Outsiders, it is said, see most of the game, and the following appreciation of the situation by an American visitor, as reported in the *Daily Express* of July 25th, is not very far from the truth. "You have in this country," says Mr. Charles P. McCarthy, "as we have in America, a backwash of Bolshevism in the shape of I.W.W., Syndicalists and extreme Socialists. These elements are eagerly seizing on every opportunity to make trouble . . .

they are insidiously infecting the workers with the idea that a great smash is impending. That is one meaning of the growing power of Shop Stewards as opposed to that of Trade Union Executives. Strikes in this country at the present time, especially in munitions industries, are in the nature of acts of sabotage. They are no longer instituted to obtain higher wages or shorter hours or the recognition of the Unions. Such strikes are aimed rather at the crippling and the hampering of capitalistic production, to prepare the way for a violent seizure of all the factories and the precipitation in England of just such a tragic state of things as Russia is experiencing to-day."

Fortunately it is a far easier matter to excite the passions of an autocratically misruled and illiterate mass of Russian peasants than it is to inflame a British democracy long familiar with the give-and-take of self-government; but in these catastrophic days, when everything is unprecedented, we can afford to take no risks, because every ounce of our national energy ought to be devoted to the all-absorbing tasks of winning the war and of reconstructing society on a permanent basis worthy of the sacrifices which we have made in the cause of civilisation.

In the past it has been the habit of authority to ignore, or at least to belittle, the danger of the unrestrained agitator on the supposition that the British workman is too well-balanced an individual to be led into mischief. Such may have been the case in the old indifferent days before the war when everybody was hibernating, it certainly is the case no longer. This customary ignoring of the most important factor in the genesis and growth of industrial unrest has led not only to a misconception of the whole problem but has reacted, boomerang fashion, to the detriment of those whose policy it has been to put the wrong end of the telescope to the official eye. For this is the situation which they have created for themselves. Labour, they say, is patriotic and determined to see the war through. Labour is shrewd, and is not going to be stampeded by any silly nonsense like Syndicalism. Labour takes little notice of agitators. So far so good. But the time comes when Labour kicks and large bodies of men suddenly down tools for no ascertainable cause of sufficient moment. Public interest is aroused, the Press gets busy and tries to find a *via media* which will admit of an equal apportionment of the blame between the two warring factions. This process seldom leads to any illuminating or conclusive result, and so the newspapers say the whole trouble is due to a misunderstanding. No doubt misunderstandings are at the root of more than half the mischief in the world, but there are some misunderstandings

which are deliberately implanted, and it is these that are the most potent causes of industrial unrest. As often as not a Committee of Enquiry is set up, but care is taken to exclude from its terms of reference any line of investigation that is likely to lead to a solution of the root problem, which, *au fond*, is how to curb the activities of the mischief makers. If half the energy devoted to the examination of pretexts was spent on studying and counteracting provocative propaganda in the workshops the situation would clear with startling rapidity.

Failing this direct method of arriving at the truth, public opinion is constrained to find a scapegoat. It is thought unpolitic to blame the strikers, for their patriotism and good sense have already been conceded. The onus of responsibility cannot always conveniently be thrown on the employers, who are admittedly reluctant to diminish their output and who have renounced the weapon of the lock-out during the war, and so the blame is cast on the Ministry of Munitions, who are almost invariably accused either of procrastination, mismanagement or pig-headedness. We hold no brief for the Ministry of Munitions and have no doubt that, with the best of intentions, officials have often blundered in the handling of novel and exceedingly intricate problems, especially when the dice have been loaded against them, but of one thing we are confident, and that is that a committee of angels, with Gabriel in the chair, would be unequal to the task of satisfying the mutually destructive demands of those pertinacious and censorious champions of Labour who dislike nothing so heartily as any approach towards reconciliation.

It is one thing to diagnose a complaint and quite another to prescribe its cure. There are, however, certain elementary and obvious steps which ought to be taken without delay. The prevalence and the potential danger of illegitimate agitation should be recognised and stamped out like any other harmful epidemic. Lies should be nailed to the counter, a scientific campaign of education in the laws of good citizenship should be launched and sustained, the patriotic elements should be roused from their lethargy and mobilised for defence, and frankness should take the place of high-browed secretiveness in official circles. This programme is enough to go on with, and the more complicated manœuvres, so dear to the bureaucratic mind, can well be postponed until these simple preliminaries have been tried and found wanting. This method of countering the strike menace in war-time is more likely to succeed than the issue of proclamations threatening pains and penalties; it is also more dignified than any resort to fevered appeals to eleventh-hour patriotism.

CORRUPT WELT-POLITIK.

The Peaceful Penetration of France by Germany before the War.

THE PORT OF DIÉLETTE.

WHEN one considers the methods used by Germany to spread her net over France during the years that preceded the war, one is amazed at the simplicity of the means successfully employed to establish her industrial and commercial conquests on solid foundations, while preparing for all the military inroads which, had no one given the alarm signal, might have resulted in the whole of France being now under the heel of the barbarians.

An army of naturalised Germans, helped in their daily task by that powerful organisation the Schimmelpfeng Institute, was then slowly but surely taking possession of the principal avenues of finance, commerce, and industry. But they were specially intent on getting a hold on all industries connected with war. Their economic crusade was thus useful not only to the financial, but also to the military organism of their Empire. Nothing shows better the working of that double policy than their schemes for the exploitation of iron ores in those regions of France which were neglected by the French in spite of the mineral resources they contained.

In order to prepare her great European war, Germany needed coal and iron. Though she found the first in plenty within the boundaries of her own territories, and especially in Westphalia, she realised that her mineral wealth would not last for ever. Spain, Germany, even Alsace-Lorraine, could not go on indefinitely producing the millions of tons of iron indispensable to the ever-increasing production of the Krupp works and of the big metallurgic centres which were feverishly preparing the war material necessary to the conquest of France and of Russia, besides the building of a fleet capable of challenging the British Navy, and the laying of the thousands of miles of railroads which were to encircle the globe for the benefit of German trade and the glory of Prussian militarism.

Where was Germany to find these indispensable ores ? Where if not in France ?—for since the discovery of the Thomas process for treating the phosphoric strata, France had become the first ore-producing country of the world. Without going into technical details, one must remember that the Briey

region had developed during the last fifteen years into a real land of surprises. Not only in that portion of the Briey area snatched from France in 1870, but also in the Western part, untold resources of iron ores had been discovered. Other parts of France were, moreover, capable of providing the world with the precious metal. In Normandy the Germans located beds of mineral ores ten times richer than those of Briey, in spite of the absurd reports of French scientific experts, members of the Institute and of other learned bodies, who had decreed, with all the authority attached to their names, that Normandy contained no such mineral deposits. The German experts knew better. They also discovered valuable deposits in Brittany, which were not unknown, but which had been abandoned for nearly half a century, owing to the competition of English products. Other mineralised regions were also prospected. In the Pyrénées and everywhere else the Germans rushed to the economic conquest of these territories, all the easier to seize because the French Government did not dare refuse to their powerful neighbours the favours, facilities, and concessions which they claimed politely, but with an insistence that foreboded no good to those who might have been patriotic enough to deny them.

It is worth mentioning that the strong desire for peace which characterised all the Governments which of late years were responsible for the welfare of France was fortified by a realisation of the military superiority of Germany. Democracy was not in the mood either in France or in England for any far-sighted policy. Instead of strengthening the main structure of their house against all possible tempests from without, they preferred to ornament the inside. Public men were, in fact, settling down to enjoy a comfortable life, with as little work and as much pleasure as possible, when the storm burst and nearly shattered the ancient and already crumbling walls which had been decorated so lavishly. And to think that prominent people in British political circles used to talk of the "chauvinisme" of the French and of the bellicose attitude of their Government! The truth was just the contrary. The French, foreseeing the consequences of open rebellion against the intrusion of Germany in all directions, gave way for the sake of peace on so many points that it is a miracle the military police, happily well informed and thoroughly patriotic, was able to nip in the bud, when war was declared, the most dangerous and treasonable plots of the Germans installed on French territory.

But that policy of perpetual giving in could only have one

result—to encourage the Prussian military caste in their belief that France was a decadent nation, rotten to the core, which would fall to pieces the instant the German army should march on Paris. At the head of these peace-at-any-price politicians was M. Caillaux, who, in order to obtain the semblance of a political and personal success, was then favouring the financiers and the commercial travellers of Germany by all the means in his power. He was convinced that France, as long as she remained a radical-socialist democracy, could never hold her own against the strongly organised autocracy she had for a neighbour. But instead of trying to reform the political conditions of France, he only thought of his own interest and his own career. “*Après nous le déluge*” was the motto of that epoch. It explains why M. Caillaux was taxed by M. Léon Daudet, in September 1912, with having granted to one of the Kaiser's privy councillors, August Thyssen, at the request of the German Ambassador in Paris, and as a last and secret condition of the departure of the *Panther* from Agadir, the privilege of establishing what amounted to a German port at Diélette, twenty miles west from Cherbourg. This port was supposed to be the necessary complement to the exploitation of the Diélette-Flamanville ore-mines belonging to a limited company, whose board of directors included such well-known Germans or German nominees as E. Thyssen, A. Horten, C. E. Solacroup and Rabes. In his electioneering paper the *Nouvelliste de la Sarthe* M. Caillaux took the trouble to reply that M. Léon Daudet was libelling him. He protested that he never heard the name of Diélette, and that he defied his accusers to bring forth the shadow of a proof of their imputation. In taking this line of defence M. Caillaux was running no great risk. Secret negotiations of that nature, especially when conducted by a man as clever as M. Caillaux, leave no tangible trace. But what is one to think of the head of the Government, supposed to be fighting against the Germans during the Congo negotiations, who was not aware that his colleagues, the Ministers of Travaux Publics and of Commerce, were at that very moment granting such vital concessions to German firms?

Apart from the economic importance of Diélette, one can scarcely exaggerate what the possession of such a strategical point of the Cotentin coast would have meant for Germany had England remained neutral, according to the hope expressed, even on the day of the declaration of the war, by that section of the Press which voiced the desires of a not inconsiderable section of an important parliamentary group. The German fleet, avoiding the forts of Cherbourg and their long-range guns,

could have gone straight into the deep-water port of Diélette, admirably constructed for that purpose by the German engineers who in peace time masqueraded in the guise of pioneers of industrial and peaceful Germany. On the western coast of the Cotentin, which is well defended by Nature, the French Admiralty had never considered it necessary to set up fortifications or guns. Piloted by the naval officers who had explored all the mysteries and dangers of this rocky littoral, for the ostensible purpose of navigating the cargo boats of Germany or of Holland which were to transport coals from Germany to Diélette, and ores from Diélette to Germany, the German fleet would have had no difficulty in reaching this haven of safety. From thence it would have been easy to attack the undefended suburbs and town of Cherbourg. The forts would have been destroyed from the land side, and Cherbourg, which has always been one of the strategic and commercial ports of the Channel most coveted by the Germans, would doubtless have been made into a German Gibraltar of the Atlantic, an intention which they openly expressed on many occasions.

In 1871 Bismarck did all he could, though in vain, to obtain from the French the cession of Cherbourg. But not having been able to establish themselves in the Cotentin, so as to menace the coast of England, Germany did the next best thing. Applying the methods of pacific penetration which are dear to Herr von Kühlmann and to his friends, she secured in the second naval base of France—Cherbourg—all facilities for her two principal transatlantic lines, the Norddeutscher Lloyd and the Hamburg-Amerika. Before the war there was some talk of the Hamburg-Amerika deserting Cherbourg for Brest, in order to organise a direct service of fast trains between Cologne and Brest through Jeumont, St. Quentin, Amiens and Rouen. It was even proposed to build on French territory an electric line which would have been used exclusively by the Germans for their traffic in passengers and goods from Germany to Brest and vice versa. It is easy to understand now why Herr von Kühlmann, speaking to a friend in London before his departure for Berlin in August 1914, deplored the folly of the military party, and stated that if pacific penetration had been allowed by the Prussian junkers to proceed normally for another ten years, Europe, and even the world, would have been the exclusive property of Germany without a single shot fired or a drop of blood shed.

Is it necessary to add that in Cherbourg, as in Diélette, all the representatives of German interests were Germans? The whole of the machinery employed was German, and the north-

west of Normandy was in process of being transformed into a real and very aggressive German colony. In vain public opinion protested against this industrial and commercial invasion. The German capitalists, backed by their Government, had managed somehow to obtain the protection of the French Government for political reasons, and the collaboration of local authorities and local potentates for other reasons on which there is no need to expatiate. Human nature is the same in every country, and where financial interests are concerned a clear vision of the superior welfare of the country and a high sense of duty are necessary to repel the promise of easy and big profits to be made in connection with enterprising and affable foreign capitalists—all the more so that the military aims of the pacific penetration of Germans were carefully concealed under plausible pretexts. The Germans wanted to do business with France for obvious reasons : the French had beneath their soil resources which were essential to German industry and commerce ; and Germany was ready to pay cash for this raw material which was not used in France. To commercial men, imbued before the war with the false idea that a free exchange of goods was the soul of trade all the world over, the excuse seemed valid enough. Few people realised either that most of the money spent by the Germans in France was drained from the pockets of the French capitalists, big and small, who lent their money to their own banks, which in their turn lent it to German banks, able to offer to their clients the security of the State. French bankers would have laughed at anyone who asked them to lend money for the development of French commercial or industrial enterprises ! That was a too uncertain deal ; whereas to lend money to Imperial German banks, at a smaller percentage, but accompanied by a Government guarantee, was for them a sound proposition.

The folly of that policy we have paid for in blood. But the story of the exploitation of mineral ores in Normandy is a crowning example of the business methods of our enemies, and deserves a chapter to itself.



THE MEANING OF SYNDICALISM.

“WHAT is Syndicalism ?” This question has been frequently asked since the great strikes of 1911 and 1912, when public attention was first drawn to Syndicalism by the manner in which those strikes were organised and the way in which they spread, by sympathetic action, from one industry to another. During that period of Labour unrest there arose an interesting controversy over the meaning and the purpose of Syndicalism and there was a fear that this new revolutionary movement had seriously affected British Labour. This was not so in the sense of Labour consciously accepting the Syndicalist philosophy, and striking to establish the Syndicalist form of society. But through carefully organised propaganda within the labour movement during 1910 and 1911, for which Mr. Tom Mann was largely responsible, the Syndicalist strike methods were accepted by an active minority within the Trade Unions. Similar propaganda, but on a much larger scale and more efficiently organised, is now being conducted among the rank and file of the Unions that are related to the primary and vital industries of the country. In this article we shall confine ourselves to an outline of the aims and objects of Syndicalism as defined by its most active exponents.

Syndicalism is a Continental movement and prior to 1910 was practically unknown in England. But on the Continent, especially in France and Italy and to some extent in Spain, the Syndicalists had secured considerable influence with the Trade Unions (*Syndicats*). The leading exponents of this new Labour philosophy were “intellectuals” drawn in the main from the ranks of the philosophic anarchists. Most of them were men of wealth, lawyers, professors and journalists. One of the most influential of these leaders is Georges Sorel. Professor Gustav Le Bon says that Sorel is a man of independent means, and one of the most scholarly socialists in France, and Professor Sombart describes him as the “Mars of the New Doctrine.” Sorel does not believe in State Socialism, and is evidently an anarchist at heart. Referring to the origin of the Syndicalist movement in France and the part played by the anarchists, he says, “Historians will one day recognise that this entrance of the anarchists into the *Syndicats* was one of the greatest events which have happened in our time.” The anarchists joined the *Syndicats* to propagate within them anarchistic doctrines and methods, and they called themselves

"Revolutionary Syndicalists." This anarchist origin and purpose of the Syndicalists becomes obvious as we study the writings and speeches of the leaders of the movement.

"The beginning of all Syndicalist theories and actions is a belief in the class war," says Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, and he quotes Felicien Challaze as exclaiming, "The class struggle ! there is the basis of Syndicalism." But this struggle is to be conducted on the industrial field only ; politics are of no avail to the workers. The State, like the employer, is an enemy of Labour, and must, with the employing class, be destroyed. As Sorel puts it : "Syndicalists do not propose to reform the State as the men of the eighteenth century did : they wish to destroy it, because they want to carry into practice the idea of Marx and the Socialist Revolution ought not to end by replacing one governing minority by another minority. It is impossible that there should be the smallest agreement between the Syndicalists and the official socialists. The latter, indeed, talk of breaking up everything, but they attack the men in power rather than the power itself. They hope to possess the force of the State, and they reckon that on the day when they took possession of the Government they would need an army. They would carry out a foreign policy and, in consequence, they also would have to boast of their devotion to the Fatherland." The determination to destroy "old institutions and customs will," says Sorel, "give power, originality and virgin force to the fight for the emancipation of the workers. All abstract dissertations on the future of the Socialist State are becoming useless. We are moving on into the domain of real history, to the interpretation of facts, to an ethical appreciation of the revolutionary movement."

Another French Syndicalist, Professor Hubert Lagardelle, writing on Socialism and Syndicalism, says :—

(1) "If the whole of socialism is comprised in the Class War, we may say that the whole of socialism is comprised in Syndicalism, because outside Syndicalism there is no class warfare.

(2) "The national conditions which are most favourable to the development of Syndicalism are those in which historical and political conditions allow of the highest revolutionary excitation of the proletariat and of its clear-cut separation from the other classes."

The emancipation of labour can only be brought about by the workers themselves "and by no other class." There must be, says Lagardelle, a complete rupture between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie—"that is, between two worlds which have contrary ideas of life." The working class, "inspired by a

permanent spirit of revolt against the masters of production and polities," will isolate itself "within its natural boundaries," and will create "its own institutions and its own circle of ideas." Only in this way can the "class warfare" be possible and "the transition from an enslaved to a free society" become an accomplished fact. (*Syndicalism et Socialism*, by Professor Hubert Lagardelle.)

The first recorded Syndicalist resolution appears to have been moved at a Trades Union Conference held at Le Bouscat in 1888. The resolution is as follows :—"In view of the fact that the monopolisation of the instruments of production and of capital in the hands of employers gives the employers a power which diminishes proportionately that power which the partial strike placed in the hands of the workers, and that capital is useless unless it is put in circulation ; that the workers, therefore, refusing to labour, destroy at one blow the power of the masters ; this Congress, recognising that the partial strike can only be a means of agitation and organisation, declares that the general strike only—*i.e.*, the complete stoppage of all work, or a revolution, can bring emancipation to the toilers." (See *New Socialism*, by Miss Jane T. Stoddard.)

Briand, when he was a Syndicalist leader, was called "The father of the general strike." It was, he said, a more effective method of winning power than the "voting ticket which may be cancelled to-morrow." "The strength of the general strike," he said in 1899, "lies in the fact that it is brought into the world of labour by the very fact of economic evolution, and I declare at the outset that it is impossible, at least from the economic point of view, not to be in favour of the general strike if one is already in favour of the trades union organisation." At the same meeting, Briand, while deprecating attempts to force a premature revolution, spoke as a true Syndicalist and Direct Actionist when he said : "Enter the battle with pikes, sabres, pistols and guns ! Far from disapproving of your action, I shall feel it my duty, if necessity should arise, to take a place in your ranks."

In the Syndicalist order of society there is to be no State : it is "a society without superstructure." Nor will there be any economic values in the new social order. Mr. Guy Bowman, in a lecture on Syndicalism, says : "We are out to bring about a society in which every man and every woman will give to society according to his or her ability, and will take from society according to his or her needs. In other words, in the society we Syndicalists want to bring about there shall be no *value* whatever attached to any commodity, so that every

individual will be able to partake of all commodities in the full measure of his wants."

This will, no doubt, be a delightful Arcadia for those who have an abnormal desire to "partake" and whose "wants" require a "full measure."

The same writer declares that there can be no State in a Syndicalist society. "We object," he says, "to any kind of State." This Stateless society will be established by "Direct Action" and not by Parliamentary action. This revolution will "be brought about by the conscious minority"—the "unconscious majority," which is described as an "inert mass," "will have to be urged on." He goes on to say that "the revolution will have to be a sudden and violent affair. It would be absolutely impossible to change the system without a shock." Bloodshed "will be necessary" as "no great change has ever been brought about except by violent means."

We may conclude this sketch of Syndicalism with a summary of its aims and methods from Mr. J. H. Harley's book on *Syndicalism*, written for the People's Library series. Mr. Harley says: "On most matters of propaganda Syndicalism is in direct opposition to the political Labour movement. It supports direct action rather than the representative government of modern democracy. It favours violence rather than the tolerance of discussion, a difference which is the characteristic of modern political thought. It is not, therefore, collective, for it looks on the State as a political machine and more than suspects it of being run in the interests of other than the working classes. A Syndicalist fight is a fight to a finish because there is no superior authority such as the State which can arbitrate between two combatants. The Syndicalist unit of Government is the Trade Union, and the Trade Union is open to the men but not to their employers. The Syndicalist outlook is international because the Trade Union organisation is universal and far transcends the boundaries or political exigencies of any particular State. There may appear to be numerous and complex differences between the political and Syndicalist wings of the Great Labour Army; in reality, however, they may all be said to arise from the distinguishing fact that Collectivism relies on the particular State, and Syndicalism on the universal Trade Union."



NATIONAL GUILDS. III.

THE Syndicalist claim is that the workman should own his own tools, control his industry, and fix his own price for his products. However natural this claim may seem to men who are massed in large numbers and only acquainted with a single corner of the national economy, it can only be condemned by those who take a larger view. The workmen of to-day have no shadow of right to lands and equipment towards which neither they nor their fathers made any contribution ; their control of their labour is an untried experiment, of which the obvious consequences will be idleness and mismanagement ; and by fixing the prices of their products they hope to terrorise the rest of the community. If we add the usual Marxian claim that they shall enjoy "the whole product of their labour," nothing remains over for national defence, for education, for the maintenance of the aged or the infirm, and for new capital to extend machinery and introduce new industries. Such a system must lead to the most rapid social decay, and the Russian experiment shows that this calculation is well-founded.

It is not to be denied that National Guildsmen frequently use the language of Syndicalism, and that it makes a quicker appeal to their usual audiences. But the Guild system in the proper sense proposes to check these extravagances by retaining a real control of the Guilds by the State, and it may be in the Guild State, therefore, that we shall find, if anywhere, the equivalent for the functions which have hitherto been performed by Capitalism. Since Capitalism, under the stress of war conditions, has rapidly developed into State Socialism, it follows that the Guild ideal is not in the abstract so far from practical experience as once it was. The chief difference in principle is that the Capitalist now regards State Socialism as a temporary condition which will pass away with the restoration of peace, whilst the Guildsman regards it as only the first step in the establishment of an entirely new system of society.

The claim of the workman to "own his tools" is commonly linked with a demand for "conscription of wealth." This catch phrase is objectionable because it covers two ideas which are totally different : the claim of the nation to appropriate the wealth of its citizens in order successfully to prosecute the war, and the claim of the wage-earner to take advantage of the war to appropriate the wealth which now legally belongs to his neighbours. It is falsely compared to the supposed existing "conscription of life" ; there would only be a parallel

if, say, the income tax payers could compensate themselves for their sacrifices by demanding the lives of some other section of the community. The phrase " taxation of capital " is not open to this objection, and " liquidation of capital " would perhaps be clearer. The nation, through its individual citizens, owned a property calculated at (say) £20,000,000,000 at the beginning of the war ; on the security of this property it will have borrowed during the course of the war (say) £10,000,000,000. Is it better that the individuals should still reckon their estates at the old figure, with mortgages thereon to the extent of one-half, or that there should be a readjustment of figures by which the nominal value of the property should be reduced by one-half ? The answer seems hardly doubtful. Whilst the readjustment must involve some delays and inconveniences, it is in every way more wholesome that the situation should be faced, that private citizens should abandon the illusion that they are still rich, and free themselves from the grudge that their neighbours bear them on that account. Whatever the banker and the politician may say (and they will carry due weight as practical men), the theoretic statesman must give the advantage to the principle of " new accounts " to correspond to a new position of society.

Before the war the income tax families, representing some five million inhabitants, are said to have enjoyed an annual income of £1,250,000,000, whilst thirty-five million wage earners received, in the aggregate, a similar sum.* The income tax payers undoubtedly lived a more spacious and refined life than the wage-earners, but they had not the advantage in spending power which these figures indicate at first sight. For, whilst the wage-earner devoted the whole of his income to his immediate family needs, the income tax payer contributed about £150,000,000 to taxation, £250,000,000 to the education of his children, £350,000,000 to re-investment or the promotion of new industries ; so that it would probably be an exaggeration to say that he retained for personal enjoyment one-third of his gross income. Further, only a part of this income was " unearned " or derived from investment ; and we may roughly reckon £300,000,000 a year as the pre-war measure of the Capitalist's enjoyment of the products of labour. Had this share been diverted to the working man

* According to Sir Leo Chiozza Money's table, which he calls the Equation of British Incomes, five and a-half million income tax payers in 1908 divided £909,000,000 per annum, leaving £935,000,000 for 39,000,000 wage-earners. We do not admit the accuracy of either set of figures, but any miscalculation that may exist on this head does not vitiate the general trend of the present argument.

at this time, his weekly wage would have been raised by about 25 per cent.

But in the course of the war these figures have greatly changed. The income of the Capitalist classes derived from investments has diminished, whilst the average income of the wage-earners has increased, perhaps, by 100 per cent. Through higher taxation and subscriptions to war loans the direct drain on Capitalist income has doubled ; and it seems probable that the personal expenditure of these classes is now actually lower than the average of the wage-earners. If so, an effective liquidation of income has already taken place. But, in addition, even the most moderate reformers promise the wage-earners a larger share in the produce of their labour, better houses, most costly education, and larger pensions at the end of the war, all which things are to be provided at the cost of the so-called owners of wealth. Is it not then clear that it is in the interest of the Capitalists themselves that their true financial position should be made intelligible to the whole nation, and is it not better that wealth, if it is to be diverted, should pass away under a system which is reasonably planned so as to press with relative lightness on the weak, rather than as a consequence of the devaluation of money, which will take no account of persons or circumstances ?

Now if we look steadily to the good of the future State it will follow that the burden of the war ought to fall in succession on the following classes : (1) the owners of pre-war securities who lived on "unearned income," that is, who rendered no service at the time in return for such income ; (2) similar owners of war securities, (3) recipients of salaries more than equal to the war standard of living, (4) wage-earners whose wages are more than equal to the war standard of living, and we would ask the Budget-makers of the future to try to place figures to the demand they would make of each class, and to compare such figures with those that follow from the National Guildsmen's demand that the State should annex all pre-war securities above a certain limit, reduce all holdings in the National Debt, and lower all salaries over £500. It seems very doubtful whether the difference between the two reckonings would be large. The primary fact is that after the war national poverty will make it essential that most of us shall live on the working-class scale ; how this result shall be expressed in figures is mere matter of detail. To those financiers who propose large taxes on articles of consumption other than luxuries the Guild system offers a positive attraction ; for how can such taxes be more easily levied than by restricting the right

of selling such articles to the licensed members of a Guild of Distribution ?

The "democratic" control of Labour may seem at first sight a mere cloak for indiscipline ; but there are many forms of democracy, and no practical man even amongst Guildsmen really thinks that Trade Union delegates, as at present trained, can run any large business by themselves. The root of the matter here lies in the retention of private incentive. From the capitalist point of view this is best maintained by piece work ; then no work, no wages ; the more work, the more wages. Yet, after all, no one proposes such a system for a Cabinet Minister, an inspector of nuisances, or a soldier ; nor is it necessary for a workman.

The Guild system starts with the assumption that the workman and his family are adequately provided for in health or in illness, in employment or in unemployment. In this there is nothing Utopian ; roughly speaking, it corresponds to present facts, whereas unemployment and starvation wages are already memories of an ugly past. Let us imagine the Guild system once in working order, supported not merely by revolutionary agitators but by the solid mass of decent working folk, and then ask whether it may not leave room for that private incentive which communistic experiments undoubtedly failed to provide.

The Miners' Guild (let us say) includes a million members. It is under the obligation to provide the State annually with **250,000,000** tons of coal at the pit's mouth at a standardised price of 15s. a ton. If it produces less, it will forfeit its self-government ; if more, it can sell the balance in the open market to the Guild of Distribution (say) at 18s. a ton. Assuming that it is led by men of ambition, will they not at once take steps to raise the production (say) by **50,000,000** tons, giving the Guild an excess income of £45,000,000 on its yearly budget ? Planning this, they will offer each mine a bonus on increased production ; and each mine in turn will offer a bonus to the individual producer, and will seek out the most competent engineers, prospectors, and managers for the purpose. If the excess income is won, will not again an ambitious Guild plan with it the introduction of new machinery and new methods ? Will it not create, first a public feeling, and then a series of regulations, which will encourage the good worker and place the idler under a ban ? To do this it is by no means necessary to go so far as to enrich the one or to starve the other ; much lighter rewards and punishments may suffice.

We do not profess to be able to give an answer to these questions, but we maintain they are questions of polities, not

of economies ; they depend upon the issue whether or not democratic government is consistent with the virtues. But it seems likely that ambitious Guilds will not in the long run give too much play to delegations or too much time to "reasonable discussion." A democratic State gives much power to a President ; and it may be anticipated that a democratic industry will not be long in finding its Boss.

But, it may be said, if a Guild grows thrifty, encourages lending by its members and by the outside community, will it not find it necessary to pay interest, and if so will not the old evils of Capitalism revive ? The theory of the Guilds at present prohibits the payment of interest ; it claims that the workman will willingly hand over his savings to the Guild in order that they may be securely defended for him. The security of a Guild hoard in the presence of a majority of non-savers must seem very precarious, and the thrifty workman might prefer to bury his hoard in his cellar. A Guild, then, could not succeed unless it induced the majority of its members to save ; and it may be anticipated that such a majority would as quickly outgrow its objection to receiving interest as co-operators have broadened their ideas to the extent of accepting dividends.

We have forbore to speak of the delicate but vital question of the War Debt. The healthy development of any community is bound up with its honour, and its honour with the complete fulfilment of its obligations. But let us not confuse the substance with the shadow. To pay the full interest on the War Debt for 100 years, and surcharge it with an income tax of 10s. in the pound, is to keep a promise in words. To repay the whole amount in currency notes, the value of which in commodities would instantly fall to one-tenth, is equally illusory. Yet the proposals which at present hold the field are all steps in the one direction or in the other. The Guildsmen will maintain the honour of the nation intact, whatever the details of their proposals, if they see to it that those who have lived hard to provide the financial sinews of war are not in a worse position than those who have invested money in securities, and have their reward as compared with those who have wasted it in riotous living. More than this an impoverished State cannot achieve ; we do not believe that honest Guildsmen intend less. If this is so, the "liquidation of wealth" may prune the outgrowth of industrial profits, but will not cut to the roots of industrial credit.

TRADE AFTER THE WAR.

Some Historical Parallels.

THE Minister of Pensions having stated that "experts were agreed that this war would be followed by a period of unprecedented trade activity," Mr. F. H. Rose sets out to prove (in the A.S.E. monthly Journal and Report) that historical precedents point in an opposite direction. Analogies from history are only too often deceptive and this war is so much vaster than anything within human experience, being the first example of world-wide conflict between entire peoples, that even were all the evidence of history against Mr. Roberts, his statement might nevertheless be accurate, owing to the preponderating influence of other factors, which were not operative in other wars, having now come into play for the first time.

But the verdict of history is not so one-sided as Mr. Rose tries to make out.

One war of classical history—the Persian War—led to great economic expansion for Greece and especially Athens. Referring to the Roman Empire, Mr. Rose makes full play with the gifts of corn given by returning generals to the populace. But this was a sort of "Panem et Circenses," a gift or bribe, which was not confined to war-time at Rome.

Now to turn to his examples from English history. More might have been made of the Hundred Years' War between England and France, running from Edward III.'s to Henry VI.'s reign. Naturally such a war was terribly exhausting to both sides and yet it is to be doubted whether the Black Death (which was not even a by-product of the war) had not more to do with social unrest and want than the great war. Mr. Rose fastens on the "Wars of the Roses," styled by him, quite wrongly in any large sense, a dynastic war. Strictly speaking, it was a war of great nobles, the last kick of feudalism, and really proved a benefit since it ridded us of unruly semi-independent families of nobles who imperilled the unity of the nation. They killed each other off and the mass of the people did not suffer very acutely. The sixty thousand "strong rogues and masterless men" whom Henry VII. is credited with having hung may be reckoned as the camp-followers of these mutually warring nobles, not as poor harmless people robbed of their avocations by any general state of destitution.

In any case the "Wars of the Roses" as a sort of civil warfare is not on all fours with a war against a foreign country. Nor

can the Cromwellian war, by which presumably Mr. Rose means the Great Rebellion, be cited as a fair instance in point. Obviously civil wars must impoverish a country and result in economic depression. We observe that Mr. Rose leaves unnoticed the extraordinary commercial and national expansion which followed the defeat of the Spanish Armada. Similarly he ignores the evil effects of war carried on half-heartedly as was the campaign against the Dutch under Charles II.

The War of Succession may, as Mr. Rose says, have "started a downward social tendency," yet in the very midst of Marlborough's campaigns we have the famous panegyric in the *Spectator* on the romantic progress of British trade and its putting all the world in fee for its comforts and luxuries. It needed but a few years of Walpole's economic and pacific policy to bring big advances in trade and enrich many a merchant such as Beckford.

Even the effects of the Seven Years' War can be made too much of, and it should be remembered that from this time onwards what is known as the Industrial Revolution was in process of beginning. The more immediate effects of the great inventions of the era was to rob the independent home worker of his livelihood, but in the end they led to a vast extension of industry, and, at any rate, the Seven Years' War meant for us the acquisition of fresh fields of enterprise—India, Canada, etc. and a vast increase of trade facilities, of which, long afterwards, it is true, working people reaped the advantage.

The Napoleonic War is more of a parallel to the present position, but despite the press gang, the bulk of the country, while hostilities were in progress, can hardly be said to have suffered acutely. The very poor must have been hard hit by high prices, but we are dealing here with the after-effects of war. To those again the Industrial Revolution contributed, but while it brought displacement of industry it had this astonishing effect. Whereas France was crippled by defeat and Germany recovered but slowly from the ruthless policy of Napoleon, England advanced with enormous strides to the trade supremacy of Europe. It was the iniquitous Corn Laws, not any aftermath of war, which brought about the starvation of the poor in the midst of comparative plenty and justified Ebenezer Elliott's Corn Law Rhymes. It was the shortsighted selfishness of the old-style manufacturer who treated his workmen as slaves, and forced children into bondage, and kept whole families working scandalously long hours in insanitary conditions to earn the barest pittance, to which must be ascribed the social misery of the early nineteenth century. And this

in its turn must be traced to the social ethics of the time. Society itself had no more sense of responsibility towards the victims of the new industrial conditions than the employer himself. What was, was right, in the eyes of the *laissez faire* doctrinaires, and it took decades to shake their complacency and produce a moral change in the community.

No comparisons can really be drawn, however, between the war of to-day and other wars, and therefore it would not be safe to argue that its results will resemble those of other wars. One thing is certain, it has brought about more destruction than other wars. There is a dead loss of millions of the world's producers and labourers in its casualty lists. There is the agricultural ruin of big tracts of territory—Poland for example. There is the wholesale destruction of transport vessels and their cargoes. There is the contraction of trade produced by the transfer of large bodies of labour to the manufacture of war material, which in an immediate sense at any rate can be reckoned unproductive. There is the lessened working of mines. There is the effect on our railways, which as the result of the withdrawal of labour cannot be kept in proper repair, and might under a prolonged war reach a critical condition.

Now all this wastage has got to be made good. After the war the world should be crying out for the help of labour. Trade, which has been condemned so long to move in narrow channels, is bound to return with redoubled energy to the old tracks and to seek, as energetically, new ones. There will be a race for raw materials of all sorts. Expansion on a large scale is inevitable. How far this will affect the present war wages of workmen, wages enhanced to meet a rise in living, is a moot point. Demobilisation will certainly mean the unloading of millions of labourers on the market, and there will have to be an adjustment of the then returned male labour and the present employed female labour. But the land at home and in the Colonies will absorb no small proportion of our disbanded soldiers. Such industries as those of the mines and the railways can instantly digest much labour. The purchase of vast quantities of new machinery, to equip trade for facing competition and taking advantage of the unique opportunities of peace, will mean fresh opportunities for labour wholesale. The devastated countries will not be able to do all their own repairing.

So, that, on the whole, there seems nothing extravagant in Mr. Roberts's prophecy, and our conclusion is that history, having but feeble parallels to provide to this war or to the coming peace, has little that is relevant to say on the matter.

SOME VIEWS OF THE MINORITY PRESS.

THE chief topic of interest in the Minority Press during the last few weeks has been the Labour Party Conference and, arising out of it, the Breaking of the Party Truce.

Before the Conference the majority of these papers expressed the opinion that a clean break between the Government and Labour was inevitable. In *The Herald* (June 22nd) it was stated that "Labour has allowed itself to be tricked, to be humiliated, to be enslaved," and the issue of June 29th, following the same line, expressed the hope that the Conference would "decide once and for all to abandon any sort or kind of truce," because Labour's partnership in this "miserably dishonest and blindly reactionary Government has always been a source of weakness and shame to the democracy." *The Call*, June 29th, alluding to "Labour's shameful alliance with its oppressors and exploiters," says that, now Labour is at last awakening, "the doctrine of the class truce will soon be both dead and damned."

In subsequent issues, which deal with the results of the Conference, the tone is pitched in a lower key. It is significant that *The Call* offers no comment whatsoever upon the Party Truce Resolution, and with a very few exceptions the Minority Press is evidently nonplussed by the fact that the Labour Ministers have not been withdrawn from the Government. *The Herald*, July 6th, makes the best of a bad job by rejoicing that "the first step towards the resumption of the full independence of the Labour Party has been taken." Philip Snowden, writing in the *Labour Leader*, July 4th, says that though the Executive took pains to limit the effect of the proposal to break the Party Truce the Conference was under no illusion as to where this step would eventually lead. He expresses his disappointment that "so far as the discussions of the Conference were concerned there might have been no great war," since the Labour Party failed to exert its influence upon international diplomacy. The I.L.P. resolution calling for an effort to bring the war to an end and demanding a revision of the Secret Treaties was unsuccessful, but Mr. Snowden says that the fact that "the Socialists and Pacifists have considerably increased their representation" is calculated "to impress itself upon the policy of the Executive in the coming year." *The Workers' Dreadnought*, July 6th, is greatly incensed that the B.S.P.

amendment "to add the words 'and that the Labour Ministers be withdrawn from the Government'" was ruled out of order, and complains that the Labour Movement stultified itself thereby. As is natural, Miss Sylvia Pankhurst is profoundly dissatisfied with the proceedings of the Conference. She says "the Chairman" (Mr. Purdy) was as "tritely conventional as a company director addressing shareholders," he talked about the necessity for "winning the war" and used "such stereotyped phrases" as "the fight of right against might," "democracy against autocracy," etc., phrases which were meant to be punctuated by applause but were not. It was understood from Henderson that he did not support the idea of a Lansdowne Government, thereby differing from Macdonald and Snowden. But Miss Pankhurst is not sure that Henderson will remain in this attitude, "for he is not in any degree endowered with the character of tenacious independence." "He hopes . . . for an early Premiership," but if he gets it he will not "set the Thames on fire," says this Bolshevik lady. Miss Pankhurst denounces the Labour Ministers and considers that they are guilty participants in the Government's responsibility for the Secret Treaties. We are told that the Allies have been instigating civil war in China in order to provide Japan with a pretext for intervention in the internal affairs of the Chinese Empire, and—to cap all these enormities—Prince Arthur of Connaught has actually presented the Mikado with a Field-Marshal's baton, which Sylvia regards as very sinister indeed.

Litvinoff, the Bolshevik representative in this country, has issued a manifesto in reply to Kerensky's speeches at the Conference, and this reply is reproduced in *The Labour Leader*, *The Herald*, *The Call*, *the Workers' Dreadnought*, and *The Socialist*. Litvinoff complains that, in spite of the request of many of the delegates, the Chairman of the Conference refused to allow him to reply in person to Kerensky's "calumnious attack on the Russian Republic." He claims that Kerensky has no right to speak for Labour in Russia, and that when he promises to recreate a Russian Army to resume the war, in exchange for Allied intervention, it is "the merest political charlatanism," for he promises that which he knows he cannot perform. *The Labour Leader*, July 4th, states that the delegates were suspicious of M. Kerensky's presence, since, in view of the action of the Government in refusing passports to M. Troelstra, it was naturally believed that M. Kerensky would not have been permitted to enter this country unless his purpose was to assist the policy of intervention by the Allied Governments and the

ultimate overthrow of the Bolshevik Government. *The Socialist*, July, has a special supplement attacking Kerensky, which asks, "Who is he? What is his game?" and concludes with the cry of "Long live the Soviet of Russia!"

There is general condemnation of the War Munition Volunteer scheme, which is described by *The Labour Leader*, June 13th, as "full and complete industrial conscription." *The Herald*, June 15th, has a similar comment, and in the issue of the 22nd Mr. Lansbury's paper states that the new scheme seems likely to lead to a reawakening of the Shop Stewards Movement on a large scale, and expresses the hope that the Government, for its own sake, will decide against putting the scheme into operation. *The Call* reminds its readers that the B.S.P. warned the workers that military conscription would have its corollary in industrial conscription, and in the War Munition Volunteer Scheme it finds "the latest development in the process of compulsorily enrolling industrial 'volunteers.'"

The flattery with which this section of the press used to beslaver President Wilson has now given place to a mournful regret that he too should have "deteriorated" in war. *The Herald*, July 13th, does not expect "clear thoughts which can only come from clear principle" from Lloyd George and Mr. Balfour, but from President Wilson they "used to expect it," and if they can no longer do so this is in itself a sufficient illustration of the deteriorating effect of war. *The Herald* complains that there seems to be more suppression of free thought in America than in any of the "effete despotisms of the Old World," and in *The Call*, July 11th, Walton Newbold describes President Wilson's speech on Independence Day as "Eyewash," and says that every speech of his masks the reality of the contest and makes an open discussion of peace less probable.

The leading article in the "Young Rebel" for July gives what purports to be an economic explanation of "Why do Capitalists approve of war?" It appears that they want new markets for their goods and new territory and peoples to exploit. The result is war. War, we are told, is profitable to the Capitalists in a variety of ways and it keeps the masses from thinking. "Capitalism is the only enemy of the workers." "There is one war, and one war only—Capitalism against Labour." In a letter to "Young Rebels" the writer states "there are thousands of young men who are defying military service . . . because they are aware that Capitalists are trying to force them to join the Army, not to win the war, but to keep the working class in subjection." After referring to the French

railway and postal workers having their strikes broken by being called up as soldiers (Briand's method), the writer says, "These young men who are refusing the Military Service Act realise that this is what would happen in England. Therefore they are remaining true and brave to the cause of Socialism."

The editorial is a condemnation of the Boy Scout movement, and boys and girls are warned to have nothing to do with it. "Cease to confine yourselves within the narrow limits of nationality. Be International!" The following is given as a motto for the young: "The class conscious workers of all lands have no patriotism or country, their historic mission is the abolition of wage slavery."

The Workers' Dreadnought of July 13th has an article by W. F. Watson on the aircraft strike at Messrs. Waring & Gillow's, in which he expresses his gratification that the principles of Industrial Unionism "so ably propagated . . . had well soaked in, with the result that workers . . . spontaneously responded." He states that "to have brought all these sections together is a victory in itself," and concludes by saying that he hopes and believes that the workers will combine in close association so that they will be enabled "to apply their industrial strength as quickly as possible." In later issues of the same paper Watson reverts to this subject, and, whilst congratulating Mr. Churchill on his equity in "sacking the firm," adds that the result was not due to any sense of justice or magnanimity, but to fear. Watson, we gather, was one of the delegates interviewed by the Minister of Munitions, and the delegation appears to have been an unofficial detachment of the Rank and File Movement. There was some objection from the Ministry, but, of course, Watson and Co. were sufficiently wide-awake to prevent the Minister and his officials from playing tricks with others. Watson concludes: "I thoroughly enjoyed the fight; and the way all sections worked together was splendid. The Workers Committee has been amply justified. It is for us to consolidate our gains by establishing a real Workers' Committee for London that shall co-ordinate the activities of all workers regardless of craft, grade, or sex. I may add that I was not very much impressed by the ability of either the Minister of Munitions or any of his officials."

The Shop Assistant holds that the Labour Movement must dissociate itself from the scandalous treatment of Ireland. It cannot stand idly by and allow the gross bribery and corruption, which is permeating political life, to continue! It cannot remain dumb to the appeals of the oppressed, and it cannot

accept without protest the insults levelled at international labour by the banning of Troelstra.

Solidarity (June-July) deals with the future of the Shop Stewards Movement. It states that the movement is at present mainly "confined to the large industrial centres of the Midlands and the South of England. With the exception of Glasgow, it cannot be said to have met with much success in the North." As the home of the engineering industry is on the N.E. coast, we "must consolidate our forces by propagating more from the national standpoint, and subsequently concentrating the whole of our activities at the heart of Capitalism. It is in the N.E. district that the employers launch practically the whole of their insidious schemes, in their endeavour to further enslave the working classes." In this connection *Solidarity* recommends Walton Newbold's pamphlet "Capitalism on the North-East Coast." The writer insists on the necessity for keeping the Shop Steward Movement "revolutionary in character" and to have it officially connected with the Trade Union Constitution would be death to it. The rank and file should capture the position in the Unions and thereby convert the Unions into revolutionary bodies. How to do this is explained in the article. In another column any attempt to capture the Trade Unions is condemned. The aims of the rank and file "are antagonistic to the aims of Trade Unionism, and we must use the Trade Unions only in so far as to build up and develop our movement. . . . We don't want the Trade Unions any more than we want the Capitalist system—why, then, capture either?" The object of the rank and file is to "control and direct," and this can be done most effectively by "strengthening our workshop organisation. Our power lies in the works. In our willingness to work or not."

In this issue of *Solidarity* particulars are given of the strikes at the Austin Motor Works and in the London aircraft factories. There is also a list of nominations for the official positions on the Workers Committee. Messrs. MacManus, Peet and Murphy are nominated for several of these posts.



FOOD FOR THOUGHT.

A MANIFESTO signed by the Chairman and Secretary of the London District Committee (A.S.E.) states that if the recommendations of the Whitley Report are carried into effect the consequences to the Trade Union Movement cannot be other than disastrous. It declares that the objects of the Whitley Sub-Committee are :—

- (1) To establish an improved machinery of conciliation by which it is hoped to prevent disputes developing into strikes.
- (2) To meet and side-track the workers in their demand for the control of industry.

The manifesto continues : “ No scheme of so-called joint control can satisfy the demand of organised Labour for control of industry. That control can only be secured by building up a strong and class-conscious Trade Union movement based upon the workshop and organised upon industrial lines, and by using that movement not merely for adjustment of wages, etc., but for the transfer of control from the employing class to the Industrial Union. The fundamental antagonism of interest between employers and employed offers an insuperable barrier to any joint control of industry.”

In conclusion the manifesto instructs all shop stewards and branches in the London District that members must not take part in the formation or working of any committee built on the basis of the Whitley Report.

It will be observed that the “ fundamental antagonism of interest between employers and employed,” which exists less in reality than in the gospel according to Marx, is trotted out, and also that the Trade Union movement, which is held up as a sacrosanct institution at one moment, is ignored or defied by the Bolsheviks of industry when it ranges itself on the side of national stability.



Concerted hostility to the War Munition Volunteers scheme is being worked up by those whose profession consists in opposing all Government measures. The Arsenal Shop Stewards describe the scheme as “ a menace to industrial liberty,” and passed a resolution to the effect that it is “ the obvious duty of every organised worker at present enlisted in the W.M.V. to repudiate his contract in view of the Government’s arbitrary abrogation of its voluntary basis.”

"Even a shop steward cannot make a diet of high wages whether paid in cash or notes, nor go about clad exclusively in ballot papers and cards of membership."—*The Observer*.



On July 13th Mr Arthur Henderson told his audience at Northampton that "encouraging replies" had been received from enemy countries to the proposals formulated by the Inter-Allied Conference on War Aims. He added that "the most significant reply" was from the German Majority Socialists, who accepted the general principles laid down in the War Aims Memorandum and were prepared to discuss such thorny questions as the responsibility for the origin of the war, the future of Alsace-Lorraine and the rehabilitation of Belgium. On July 18th *The Herald* published a letter from Mr. Henderson in which he admitted that the reply of the German Majority Socialist group consisted of a verbal summary of a statement alleged to have been communicated to Troelstra for transmission to England. A week later *The Times* printed the text of an official letter from the Executive Committee of the German Social Democrats, which discloses the fact that, far from accepting the general principles of the Inter-Allied War Aims memorandum, the German Majority Socialists merely reaffirm their adhesion to the impossible claims which they advanced more than a year ago.



It appears, therefore, that the "most significant" of the "encouraging replies received from enemy countries" amounts in reality to the following—viz., that the German Majority Socialists are of opinion that it is no good quarrelling over the past and so do not propose to discuss the question of the original responsibility for the war; they denounce any idea of the restoration of Alsace-Lorraine to France and they repudiate the suggestion of any one-sided obligation to make good the ravages of war in Belgium or elsewhere.



The *Cassel Volksblatt* denies that Herr Scheidemann authorised M. Troelstra to convey a message that the German Socialists desired to meet the wishes of the Entente regarding Alsace-Lorraine and nobody seems to know with any degree of accuracy why our defeatists were so anxious that Troelstra should attend the Labour Party Conference. If he has any genuine authority from the German Majority Socialists to make a definite offer,

which would make for an honourable peace, why cannot he publish it in the neutral Press ? We hear a good deal about the evils of secret diplomacy, and if his mission is above-board we wonder why a personal interview with the leaders of the I.L.P. is so important. Meanwhile M. Troelstra occupies himself in abusing America and in warning the Allies that Germany is invincible.



It is all very puzzling and Mr. Henderson keeps his own counsel. For our part we are unable to make up our minds whether Peter Simple has been "spoofed" or whether Machiavelli is weaving some occult and wonderful fabric of statesmanship for the mystification of the uninitiated.



Russia has two enemies which are at present in alliance against her and their names are Germany and Bolshevism. The nature of the alliance is cynically described by the *Deutsche Politik* as follows :—" Many people have the curious idea of wanting to conclude a commercial treaty with Bolshevism. What could we gain by that ? What the Bolsheviks are doing for us is something much more valuable. They are ruining Russia. They are absolutely uprooting all possible danger to us from Russia in the future. Their activities are very precious to us and we should do everything in our power to enable them to continue work which is so profitable to ourselves. The Bolsheviks imagine that they are the salvation not only of Russia but of the world. Let us encourage them in that creed. It is exactly what we want, provided that it remains confined to Russia—Russia for the Bolsheviks and the Bolsheviks for us. This is the situation we must preserve. If we do so we shall at the same time earn the gratitude of the Bolsheviks and secure the profits of that gratitude for Germany."



Nobody is likely to accuse us of loving the Bolsheviks nor of underestimating the injury which the chaos of revolution has inflicted on the Allies, but we must not be unmindful of the gallantry with which the Russian soldiers fought in a common cause. It seems that there is no calamity, no humiliation, that unhappy Russia is to be spared, and now a serious epidemic of cholera threatens Petrograd. The British are among the most humane and generous peoples of the earth, and here is an opportunity, not only of following our natural instincts, but of giving a proof of our sincerity in the face of all men. It may be that we are hard pressed to find doctors

and nurses for our own needs, but the greater the sacrifice the greater the merit. Let us therefore organise a flying column of Good Samaritans to succour our one-time comrades in their last extremity. Such action on our part would, no doubt, be misrepresented by our enemies and sneered at by our utilitarians, but the quality of mercy is proof against all calumny and quixotism is often better business than we think for. Even if the members of such a mission were assassinated by the Red Guards, which is a contingency to be reckoned with, the moral gain might yet outweigh the material loss.



According to *The Clarion*, one of the Rumanian delegates complained to the German jurist, Dr. Kriege, of the extreme harshness of the terms imposed on Rumania. The reply was : “ We have given you exceedingly fair and favourable conditions. If you only knew what we have proposed for England and France when their turn comes, you would know what hard treatment really means and bless your stars that you have come off so well.”



“ Ginger beer is an effervescent drink made by fermenting ginger, sugar and other ingredients and bottling before the fermentation is completed.” Strong flasks are generally used to contain this liquid and the cork should be firmly secured. If the cork is released too suddenly, a loud pop is heard and some froth escapes. We commend these simple observations on natural history to the Rt. Hon. John Burns, Member for Battersea.



At the first meeting of the Aliens Advisory Committee Mr. Justice Sankey read a statement explaining the principles which will govern the enquiry into the question of the internment and exemption certificates of enemy aliens. The explanation is frank and statesmanlike and forms a refreshing contrast to the crude insistence of those myopic but well-meaning patriots who would like to round up everybody with an unfamiliar sounding name. “ We are accustomed,” concludes Mr. Justice Sankey, “ in this country to trust the people and we hope that in the difficult and distasteful task that we have been asked to undertake people will trust us.”



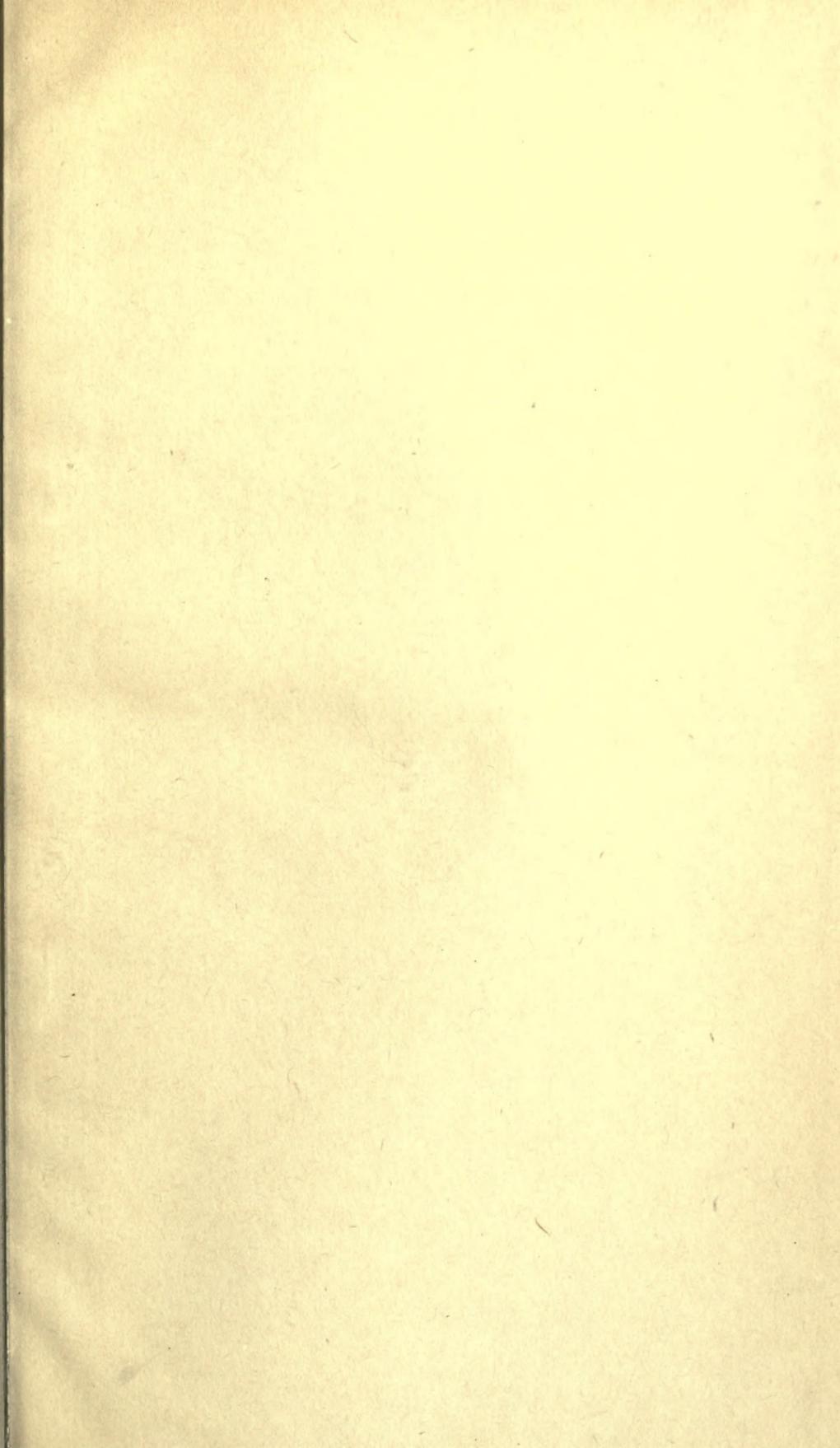
We have received a letter from the League of the Workers of Greece, complaining of its exclusion from the Inter-Allied

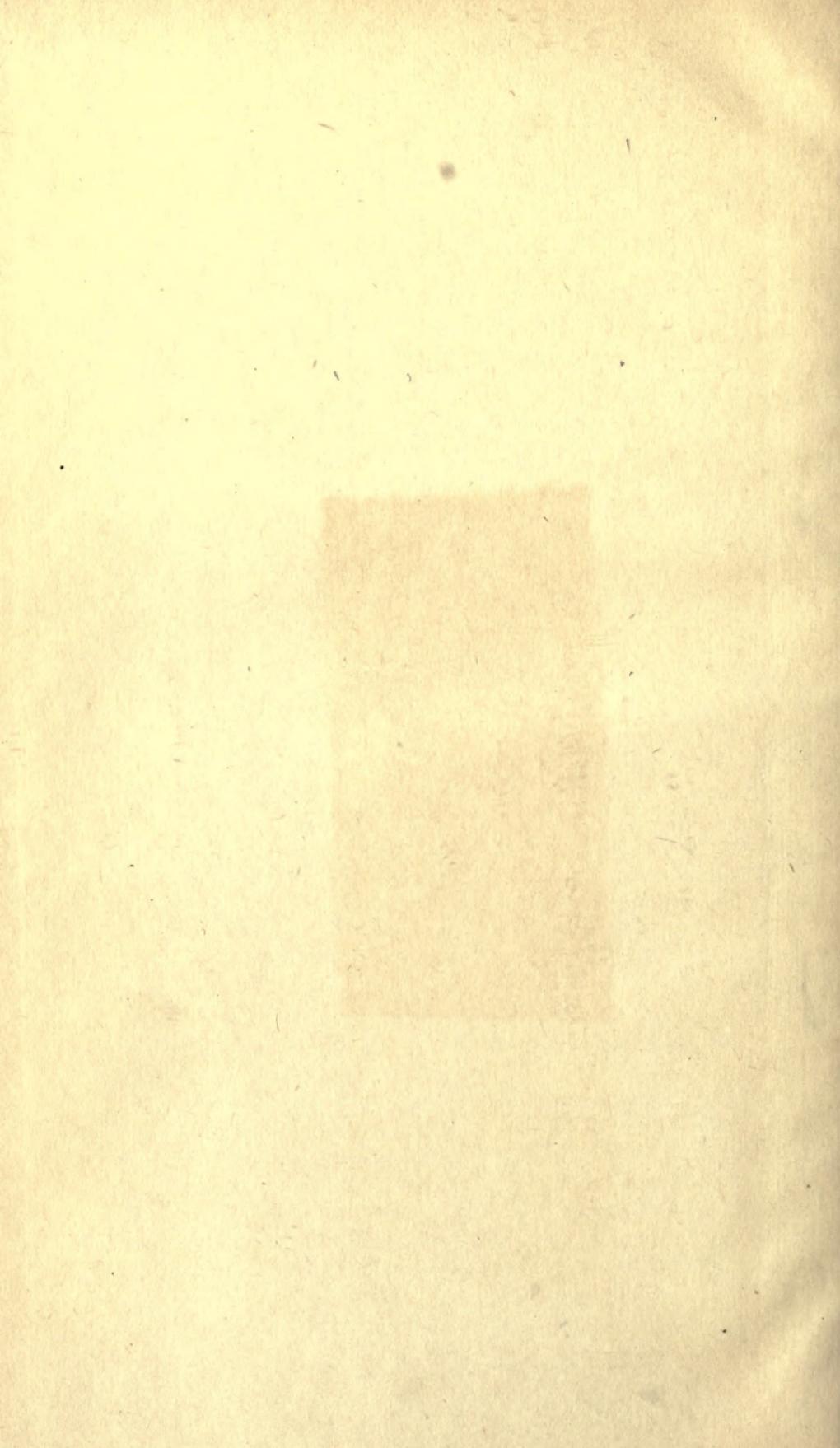
Labour Conference of February, 1918. Not being in Mr. Henderson's confidence we are unable to furnish an answer to the question as to whether the alleged exclusion is due to the insistence of the Greek Socialists on the necessity of defeating Germany before the ideals of the Internationale can be realised. We fear that this point of view would not have proved popular in some quarters, and no doubt the harmony of the proceedings at the Conference was enhanced by the enforced absence of a potentially discordant element. The following is a translation of the letter in question :—

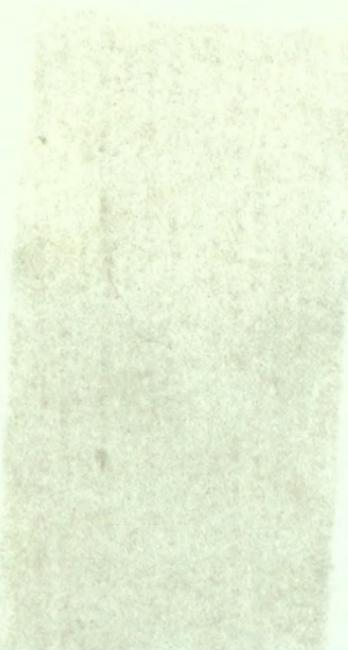
DEAR CITIZEN,—Our Committee has charged me to bring to your notice the regret with which all Socialists belonging to the League of the Workers of Greece and to the Greek Socialist Party have learnt of the exclusion of our delegates from the Inter-Allied Labour Conference held in February. This exclusion is not based on any reason which could satisfy the most exacting requirements of the spirit of impartiality and international solidarity. It is contrary to the well-known historical facts of the last ten years. Our League was founded in 1908, was received and recognised by the International Socialist Bureau in 1914, was represented at the Inter-Allied Labour Conference held in London in August, 1917, was invited by Comrade Henderson to attend the February Conference, to which it sent a memorandum on War Aims, and, in spite of the great difficulties and expense of the journey, elected and sent its delegates. The League has published several manifestoes since the beginning of the war, which in themselves are evidence that since the year 1908 it has never ceased to act in unison with the principles of the Internationale. Since the outbreak of war, however, it has made a point of declaring the conviction of the Socialists and Workers of Greece that the ideals of the Internationale can only be realised by the defeat of Germany before any understanding with the German Socialists can be arrived at. We have always been convinced that Germany was the aggressor and that, in the interests of all peoples, she must be defeated.

As this opinion cannot be a sufficient reason for excluding our delegates, it is our duty to make our protest against their exclusion, by addressing this letter to the directors of the International Socialist Bureau and of the Labour Party, in the hope of obtaining the rectification of this unjust attitude towards the only organisation which can pretend to represent the conscience of Labour in Greece. With brotherly greetings,

GEO: ALEXIADIS,
Director of the League of the Workers of Greece.







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